EXCLUSIVE! The Great Grocery Store Robbery

KEEP STRONG

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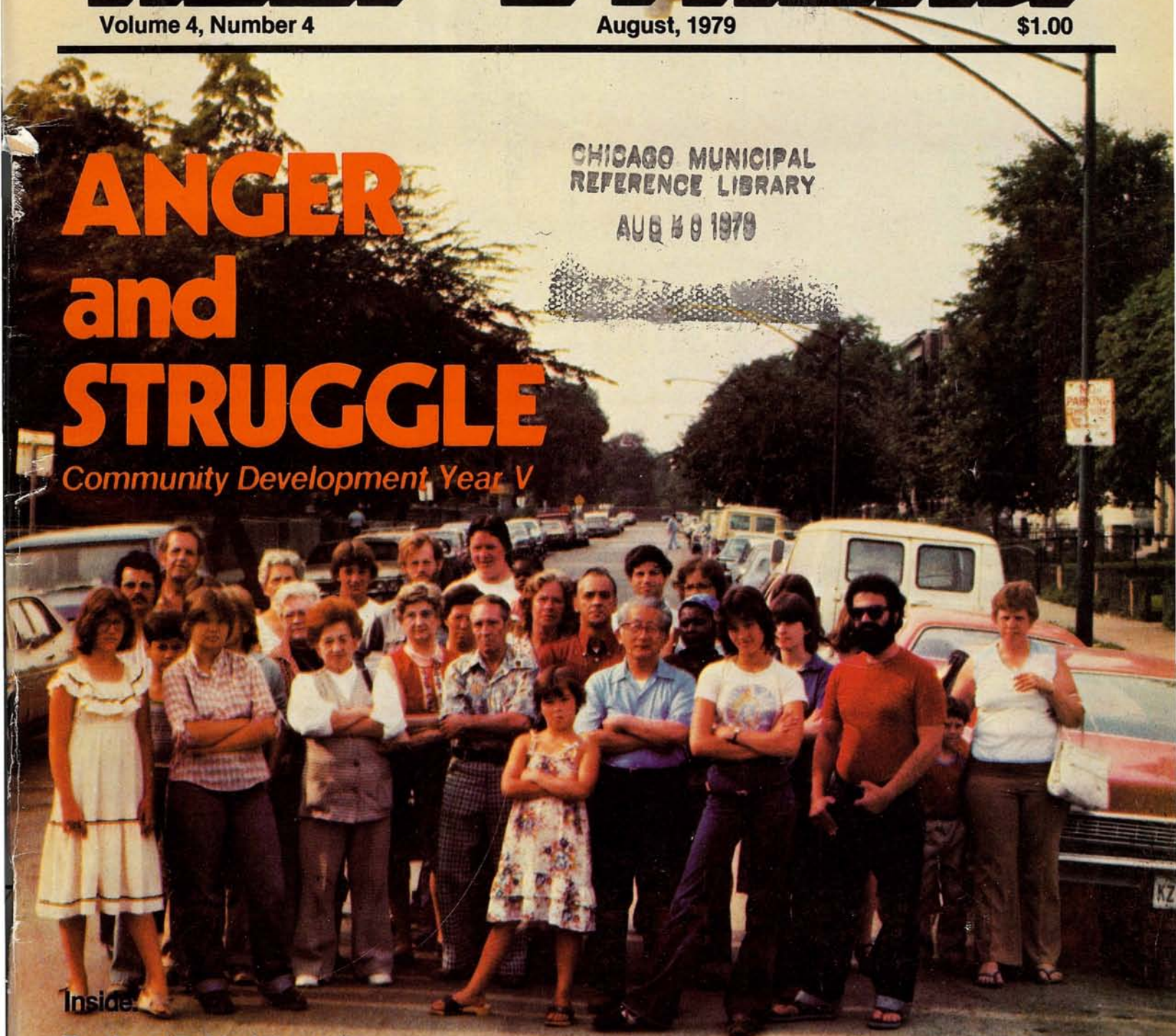
ANGER and STRUGGLE

Community Development Year V



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Food Stamps: 50 percent cuts?

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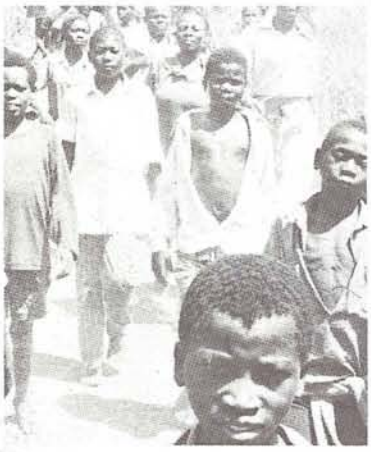

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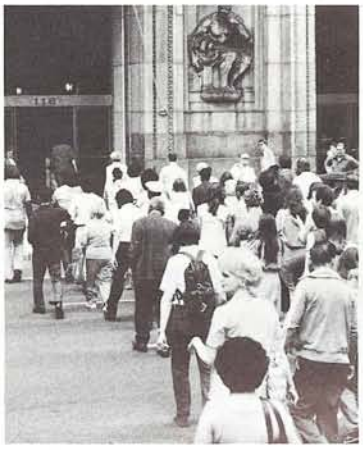

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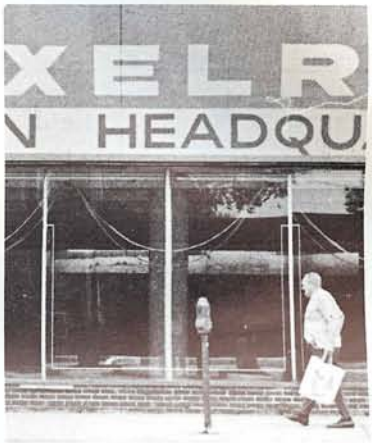

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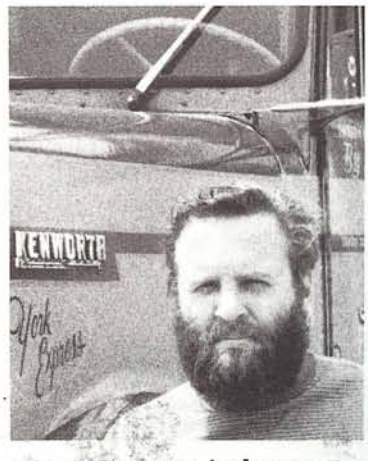

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Acting Editor – Marc Zalkin

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EDITORIAL

"Davids By The Thousands Only A Very Few Goliaths!"

The slumlords led the people of Uptown to understand the real estate speculators and then the developers and then the banks and finally the city planners. Behind the run down buildings and the fires and the urban renewal, which was people removal, the people of Uptown found the money men downtown. And always the money men pointed to the "city's plan" to justify their use of federal and private monies to rape and remove our community, replacing it step-by-step with profit producing middle and upper-income housing. THE PROBLEM WAS THE PLAN.

SO THE COMMUNITY DEVELOPED ITS OWN PLAN. The community's lot-by-lot, building-by-building plan for redeveloping Uptown for the people who live here now took two years and involved the efforts and ideas of thousands of people. It was detailed and exhaustive. It was economical and practical. But the problem was that the community didn't have the legal clout to get the city to spend the taxpayers' money according to the communities' plan.

SO THE COMMUNITY DEVELOPED ITS OWN LEGAL POWER. Drawing on ordinary people's actual experience of what the city had done to low-income neighborhoods again and again, and researching the laws of the land, the community developed a powerful lawsuit. The lawsuit showed that the city, with the knowledge of the federal government, in conspiracy with private developers, was destroying racially and economically integrated neighborhoods, one after the other. The suit proved that these actions by the city were in violation of federal law. But the courts are very slow and the problem was that the community had very little political clout to make the politicians take quick action.

SO THE COMMUNITY DEVELOPED ITS OWN POLITICAL POWER. The people of Uptown ran their own candidate for alderman, and although Helen Shiller lost the election, barely, by two hundred votes, she carried the Uptown precincts overwhelmingly and helped to elect Jane Byrne with eight of the twelve thousand votes she needed to beat the machine in the primary.

With their own plan, their own legal power and their own political power, the people of Uptown mobilized downtown at city hall and demanded that the city rewrite its community development application to the federal government, so that millions of dollars of community development money could be spent according to the community's plan. With only ten days left before the city's application was due, the plan was rewritten. The community had called in its cards. While new roadblocks will surely be thrown up, Uptown is on a new road to survival and improvement and it will be hard to stop them now.

David chose his weapon – the sling shot. And David chose the place for the battle. And David slew Goliath. In Uptown, thousands of Davids chose their weapons carefully and chose the time and place for the fight. There are Davids by the thousands in communities throughout Chicago threatened with destruction by the city's master-plan – but only a very few goliaths downtown. And the battle is on!□

COMMENT:

Jimmy, It Won't Work

by Slim Coleman

In the next few months we can expect Jimmy Carter's program, weak as it is, to be torn apart by the special interest groups. The part of it that survives will be the parts that the oil companies and other big corporations can make money off of.

But Jimmy Carter was right about one thing: there is a crisis in confidence. More than that, more than a lack of confidence in the government, there is really a ***general strike*** *in this country!*

Two-thirds of the people, as Carter pointed out, don't even vote. The productivity of the workers is going down fast. In spite of Jimmy Carter pointing the finger at ordinary people driving an extra day or keeping their thermostats high enough to heat their apartments, the people don't believe they are at fault. If they don't take responsibility for getting this country out of the mess it is in, it will be recorded in history that the people knew just what they were doing. They went on strike.

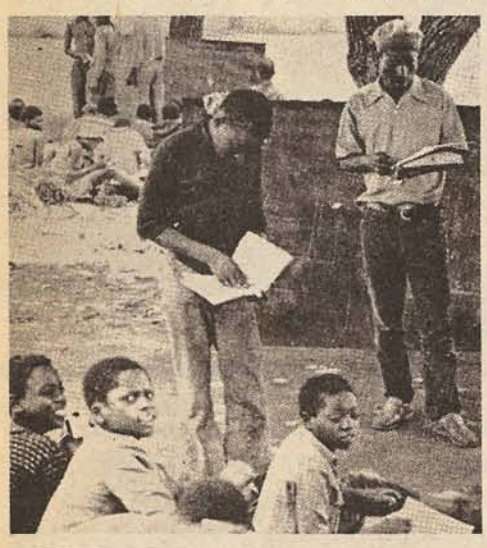
More and more power is in the hands of fewer and fewer people. The government can't even govern unless the banks and oil companies let it. And the people have less and less to say about anything. So they say what they can say. "If the oil companies got us into this mess, without us; let the oil companies get us out of it, without calling on us to help."

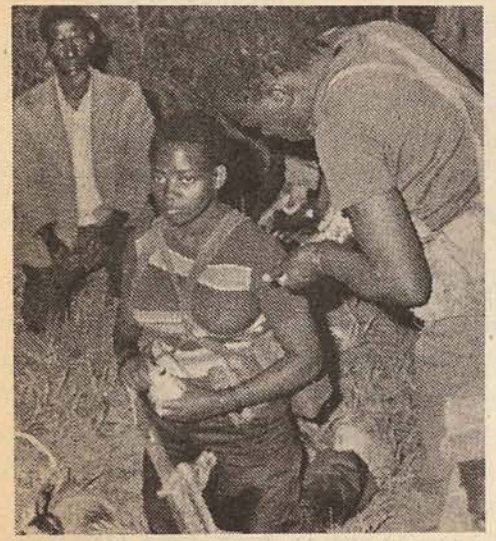
When workers go on strike because the company won't give them a fair shake and a say in how they are going to live, it doesn't do any good for the company to hire a phoney preacher to preach to the picket line about how God believes that what is good for Standard Oil is good for them too. Workers go on a strike because they have had enough.

The majority of poor and working people in this country have actually gone on strike because they say, "If you won't give us our share, than we don't care. Work out your own problems." The people don't vote, don't take responsibility for problems, because "they are the oil companies' problems." The people are on strike.

Jimmy Carter, if you want to end the general strike in this country you need to stop preaching to the picket line and go back and tell your bosses that nobody is coming back until they give a share of the decision making, the wealth and the power to the people.

Meanwhile Carter's program is going to cause more inflation, higher prices, at a time when the country is going into a depression and more and more people are going to be laid off. And when you put that kind of pressure on people who are already on strike, Jimmy Carter, you're looking for trouble. □





(Top) Chief Representative Tirivafi Kangai

(Center and Bottom) Education and health care are regular parts of ZANU's program in the liberated areas of the country.

"We Have Mobilized The People"

An interview with TIRIVAFI KANGAI Chief Representative of the Zimbabwe African National Union for North America

It has been 13 years since Freedom Fighters in Zimbabwe launched an armed struggle to free their homeland from the brutal control of a small colonial minority.

In 1978, due to the increasing pressure from this armed struggle, the White minority regime was forced to recruit a number of so-called African leaders to join it in forming a multi-racial government. Early this year the government staged elections and Bishop Abel Muzorewa was elected the first Black Prime Minister of the newly formed country called "Zimbabwe-Rhodesia."

What follows is an interview with Tirivafi Kangai, Chief Representative of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) for North America, analyzing the present conditions in Zimbabwe.

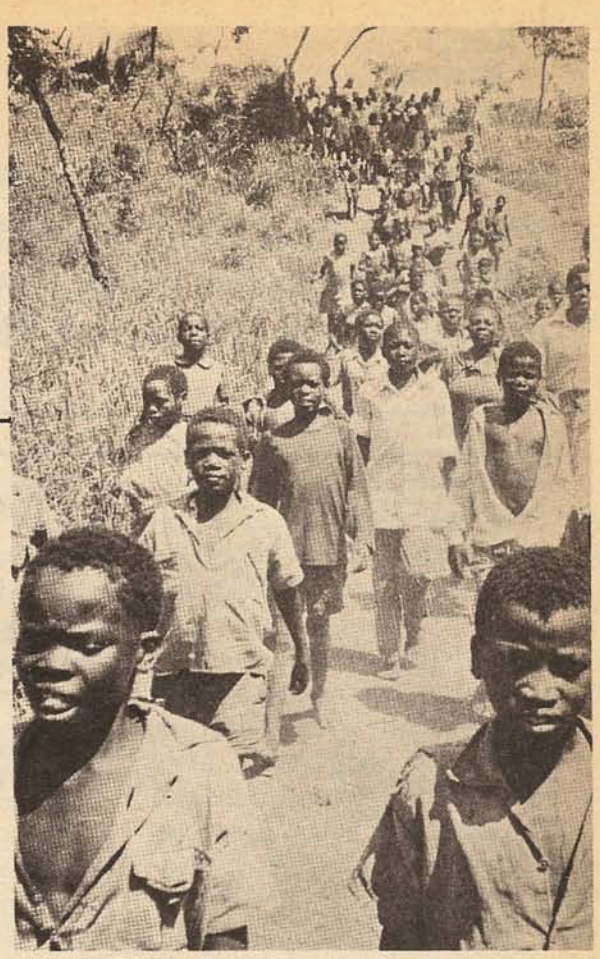
KEEP STRONG: What is the current situation in Zimbabwe from your point of view?

TIRIVAFI KANGAI: Well, the military situation is excellent. We are quite happy with the way and how the war is going. We, at the present moment, have liberated one-third of the country, this is mostly in the countryside. Another third of the country is still contested but our military presence is very, very strong. And, of course, attacks have also begun in the urban areas. In fact, I received a report today from Salisbury, from just observers, people who are not workers, and they say for sure that urban forces are now surrounded by our forces.

KEEP STRONG: Can you explain a little more about what you mean by liberated areas?

KANGAI: When we talk of liberated areas we are referring to areas where our forces are in control. The enemy cannot go into these areas by land. Once in awhile they can fly in and bomb the

"We were told that 2.5 million Africans were eligible to vote...and 65 percent voted. But the African population of Zimbabwe is 7 million."



"Any individual who refused to vote ran the risk of being labeled a terrorist which carries the death penalty."

people, but we are developing contingencies and plans to stop that. In these areas, where our forces are in control, they help the people to establish people's power. The people elect leaders from their own communities. They organize themselves into production and construction units. We organize people to work collectively; they can work on the roads, on water systems – irrigation, they work on their own. In the areas we call liberated areas, we have established an administration. People's centers have been established. We have also mobilized the people into people's militias so they can defend themselves in case the enemy comes to the area. This is about one-third of the country, mostly in the countryside.

KEEP STRONG: How has the election of Muzorewa affected ZANU's influence among the people?

KANGAI: It hasn't really affected our struggle in a negative way. Our people are quite clear that the so-called elections were bogus, to say the least. First of all, the elections were about a constitution which guarantees the current trend of minority rule in our country. This is the issue that people should focus on. We've been able to explain to our people that this constitution is really just a game by Ian Smith to remain in power while coopting some Africans. Under the provisions of this constitution Europeans will continue to control the civil service, the judiciary (courts), the army and the police. They also have a powerful veto in the assembly. In other words, Africans in that regime will not be able to make any changes at all, just mere reforms as far as the situation in Zimbabwe is concerned.

KEEP STRONG: Can you describe the political and military climate in Zimbabwe during the elections?

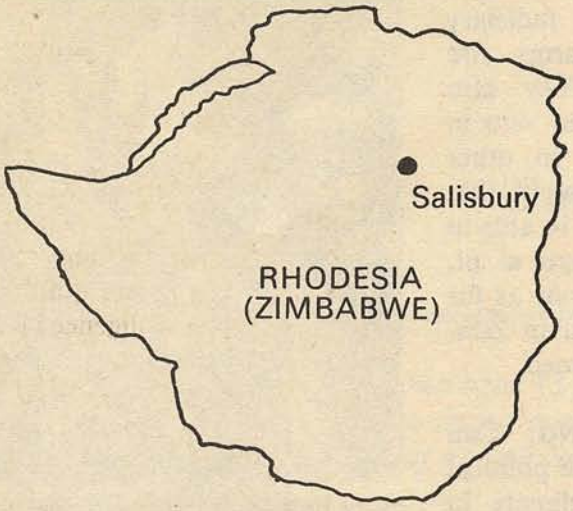
KANGAI: The enemy mobilized thousands of its forces during the so-called elections. There were also quite a number of forces which came from South Africa to help the Rhodesian forces. They had helicopters, planes, regular forces and military reservists were called up within Zimbabwe in order to have a big operation to make sure that people voted.

What happened was that a number of European employers were threatening African workers that if they didn't vote they would lose their jobs. This was happening in urban areas as well as on rural farms where Africans work. In some cases voters were driven to the polling stations by their employers.

It would be very difficult for any employee to refuse to go. Any individual who refused to vote ran the risk of being labeled a terrorist supporter which carries the death penalty if one is arrested by the regime. So people voted in urban areas in order to save their jobs; those who voted in the countryside did so because of pressure from the so-called private armies.

However, really, many people did not vote. We are told by Muzorewa that 2.5 million Africans were eligible to vote and that 64 to 65 percent of the 2.5 million voted. But if you will investigate you will find that the African population of Zimbabwe is 7 million. Now we can't believe that 4.5 million Africans are under the age of 18. It should be the reverse. So really few people actually voted in the election. We don't think that an election conducted in a country

"The U.S. did not send observers to Viet Nam, it poured weapons and men into that country. The result was a resounding defeat for U.S. imperialism."



HISTORY OF ZIMBABWE

Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) is a land-locked African country located in the southern part of the continent. It was one of the strongest and wealthiest of the Black African empires which thrived on the African continent before the invasion of Africa by Europeans in the 16th century.

The first European invasion of Zimbabwe occured in 1890 when Cecil Rhodes of the British South African Company, a successful colonizer of South Africa, led an expeditionary force into Zimbabwe. The African population resisted bitterly, for seven years, until the year 1897 when the resistance was finally crushed with the help troops.

The British South African Company ruled Zimbabwe until the year 1923, when the British granted the White settlers internal self-government. In 1930 this all-White government passed the Land Apportionment Act which dispossessed almost all Africans of their land.

The modern nationalist movement for independence began in 1957. By 1965, the actions of the Zimbabwean people combined with international pressure forced Great Britain to seriously consider handing over power to the nationalist leaders. In that same year the White settlers declared unilateral independence. Although this action was condemned by the international community the British did nothing to counter it. In 1966 the nationalists led by the Zimbabwe African National Union launched the armed struggle for independence.

which is at war, where 95 percent of the country is under martial law which is a state of emergency, can be called democratic and fair.

KEEP STRONG: What position have other African states, particularly the front line states (those countries immediately surrounding Zimbabwe) taken towards the Muzorewa government?

KANGAI: The front line countries have rejected the internal settlement which set up this government and they have also declared the recent bogus elections null and void. This position has also been taken by the Organization of African Unity, the Commonwealth of Nations, the United Nations and really by the entire international community.

KEEP STRONG: Recently, some elements in both the United States and British governments have called for a lifting of the economic sanctions which have been imposed on the Rhodesian regime by the entire international community since 1965. How would the lifting of these sanctions affect your struggle?

KANGAI: Well, if sanctions are lifted, that could prolong the war for a very short time, but it will not affect the ultimate victory that we are going to win. Our position is that it helps if sanctions are not lifted. It would be a morale booster for Smith and Muzorewa if sanc-

"We are waging a protracted war. We might win today, or next week, or next month, or in a few years time... This is our view of the struggle in Zimbabwe."

tions are lifted, but we don't think it can save them. In Vietnam the United States did not have to send observers to observe elections. It poured weapons and men into that country, but the result was still a resounding defeat for the United States and imperialist forces.

If sanctions were to be lifted it would be very bad for the U.S. government and its multinational companies. If they come openly and in a big way to support the present regime, then when that regime is overthrown which will happen, it will be very difficult for the U.S. to establish any relationship with the government which we are going to form.

KEEP STRONG: Can you give us your projections and assessment as far as the future of the struggle in Zimbabwe?

KANGAI: We can assess, but we cannot give you a time limit. We are waging a protracted war. We might win today, or next week, or next month, or in a few years time. This is our view of the struggle in Zimbabwe.

We think that the war will continue to intensify. It is intensifying at the moment. My assessment is that one or two things will happen sooner or later. The British, Ian Smith and Muzorewa may come to their senses before they are overthrown and negotiate seriously with our fighting forces. Our position is that the Rhodesian regime and the internal settlement constitution has to be put aside. We can then start with serious negotiations with the British who are the colonial power and can convene a conference. Muzorewa can come as part of the British delegation. We then can come up with a constitution which will transfer real power. I'm talking about political, economic and military power, to our fighting forces. Then the Rhodesian armed forces will be demolished. We can then talk about elections.

We will allow all parties to contest in these elections including elements from the Salisbury government. However, these elections will not be supervised by the Rhodesian regime. No, first of all they will be supervised by our freedom fighters. We may consent to some U.N. supervision if those countries which support Smith are not included.

It is our view that this is really quite a concession to make when you are fighting a revolution. However, we are quite sure, in fact we have intelligence information which indicates that if fair elections were held today, ZANU led by Mugabe would win. The other thing which could happen, the solution which most of us prefer, is the continuation of the war until Smith and his puppet Muzorewa is overthrown. Then we will establish a people's government. It will be our own, without U.S. or British involvement. So I think one of these is going to happen sooner or later. Smith and Muzorewa are going nowhere. They cannot run away with it. It is impossible. □

Kangai: "We have mobilized the people into militias so they can defend themselves in case the enemy comes into the area."

WHO'S WATCHING THE CITY?

Buna Hawkins, Joanne Sorenson and her son, routed from their apartment by a fire and the police on July 4 and 5, could get no help from the city for almost five days.

(Chicago, Ill.) Buna Hawkins, Joanne Sorenson and her three year old son were living in a small apartment at the Malden Plaza, 4615 N. Malden. They had paid their July rent on time. The night of July 4, fire swept through the third and fourth floors of the building. The following day the police from the 20th district invaded the building arresting 12 tenants for suspicion of arson and criminal trespass, and routing the remaining tenants from the building. Ms. Hawkins, Joanne and the child, having paid their rent to the landlord were forced to spend the following night in a friend's car parked in an empty lot.

On Friday evening July 6, Ms. Hawkins called the city Department of Human Services (DHS). They dispatched a field team to interview her. The DHS workers drove Ms. Hawkins a block and a half and dropped her off in front of an Uptown hotel that rents rooms for $10 a night. Unsatisfied with the city's service to Ms. Hawkins, a community agency worker called DHS back and spoke to Mr. Aarons. Aarons quickly became irritated and blurted out, "Don't tell me what to do. No private citizen is going to interfere with a representative of a city agency."

On Saturday morning, Ms. Hawkins started all over again. This time a Bennie Stewart, Crisis Intervention supervisor was spoken to. His reply was, "Well, have you tried the Salvation Army and the Red Cross yet? We can't do anything unless the party who calls exhausts all other remedies....We don't even know if there was a fire." Ms. Hawkins, Joanne and the child found a place to stay for the weekend through a sympathetic building manager in the community.

On Monday morning KEEP STRONG visited Charles Ford, director of the DHS crisis intervention program. Mr. Ford apologized for the indifference displayed by his subordinate and promised that in the future their actions would not be repeated. KEEP STRONG helped to find the family a new apartment later that day.

If you think you are not being served by the city, call KEEP STRONG at 769-2087. KEEP STRONG is watching the city. □

KEEP STRONG takes the facts as they come – and delivers the news from the people's point of view.

Upfront, the Malisoff brothers (left) were the successful developers of New Town's $20 million Century Mall Shopping Plaza. Behind them were a half dozen Uptown slums and burned out buildings funneling thousands of dollars each month to them.

KEEP STRONG broke their secret August 1978, forcing them to sell their buildings to people who cared more about housing than the profit they produced.

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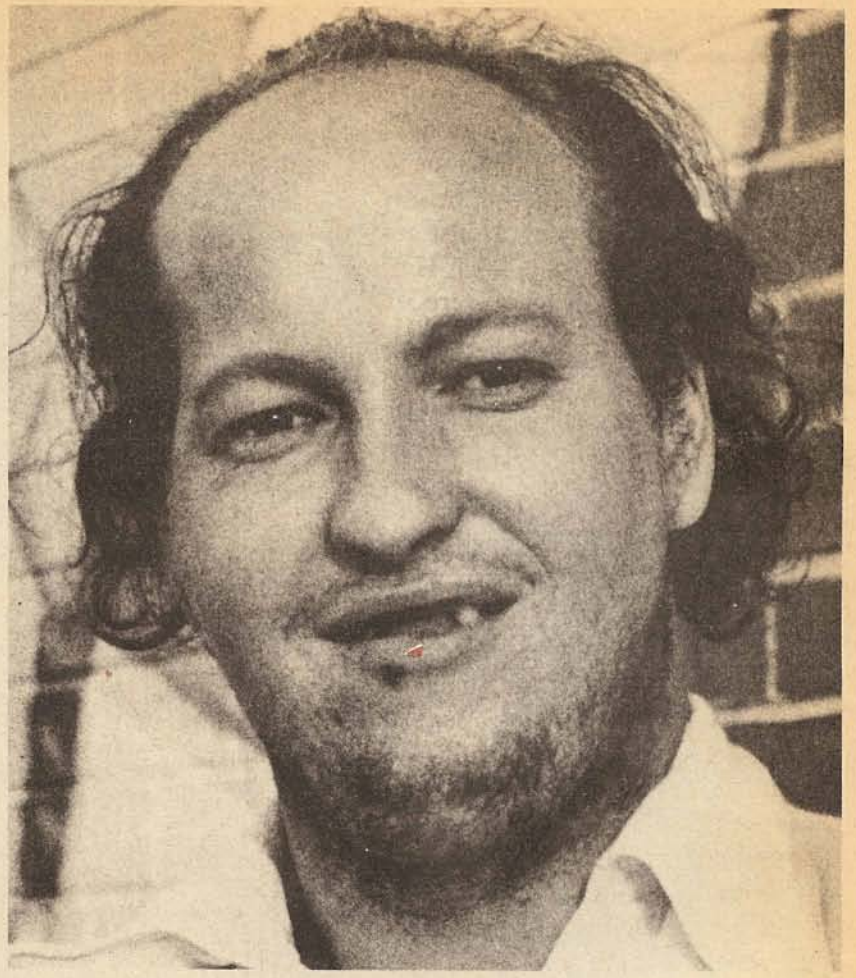
Behind the Faces



DONALD TOLSON

When Donald Tolson was 18, he left home to join the service to "have a different experience." Instead he joined the ranks of 300,000 quickly forgotten Americans.

I was born in Hazard, Kentucky. My father worked in the coal mines. My grandfather was a coal miner. My mother's father and her brothers worked in the mines also.

We moved to Uptown after I was born. I was raised here in Chicago. I went to Stockton School but quit school after the ninth grade. I quit school because I thought I wanted to work. I worked at a factory in Bensenville making cast iron blocks. I was getting $2.53 an hour then. At the end of 1969 I turned 18 and joined the army.

I joined the army to have a different experience, to learn about life and find out what my capabilities were. When I was younger I had a particular outlook about the army. I believed it had a lot of hard core people, special people that trained constantly and had discipline. Only a few were like that.

After I joined I was sent to Fort Campbell, Kentucky for basic training. I was trained in light weapons, M-16's, 45's, grenades. I was there for a couple of months and they sent me to Fort Ord in California for advanced infantry training. It was basic training, only harder. When I was done there, I was sent to Fort Lewis, Washington to hold over until they had something leaving for Vietnam.

We flew to Vietnam and landed around Camranh Bay. It was my first experience so far away from home. I pulled 15 days guard duty when I got there. After that I went to regular infantry brigade. That's like basic training all over again, but you're in a hot forward out-

post. You go to places where it's kind of hot. When I started in light infantry my squad leader told me to walk the point. I looked at the guy like he was crazy. I said, "I just got here I don't know nothing." Half the boobie traps I'd seen were on the movie screen. This other dude that came the same time I did jumped right out and hollered, "I'll do it." He took off through there like a bat out of hell. You'd find people like that there. They wanted to show their guts. And that's just what would happen to them when they stepped on booby traps.

Light infantry would be on patrol most of the time. We'd get sent to check out "hill 43" or "hill 56." We patrolled around the camp areas because Charlie could set up a mortar and get on you in five minutes. If he could get five shots off, he could burn you bad. You'd check out what was there and what's been there.

If Charlie's fighting you and you're in the field, he's gonna follow you around for a week, until he gets an accurate position on you, then mortar the hell out of you.

And if you're moving around at night, you don't know what the hell you're stepping on. There's booby traps all over the place and you can't see s--t.

There was a big thing when my platoon refused to go out at night.

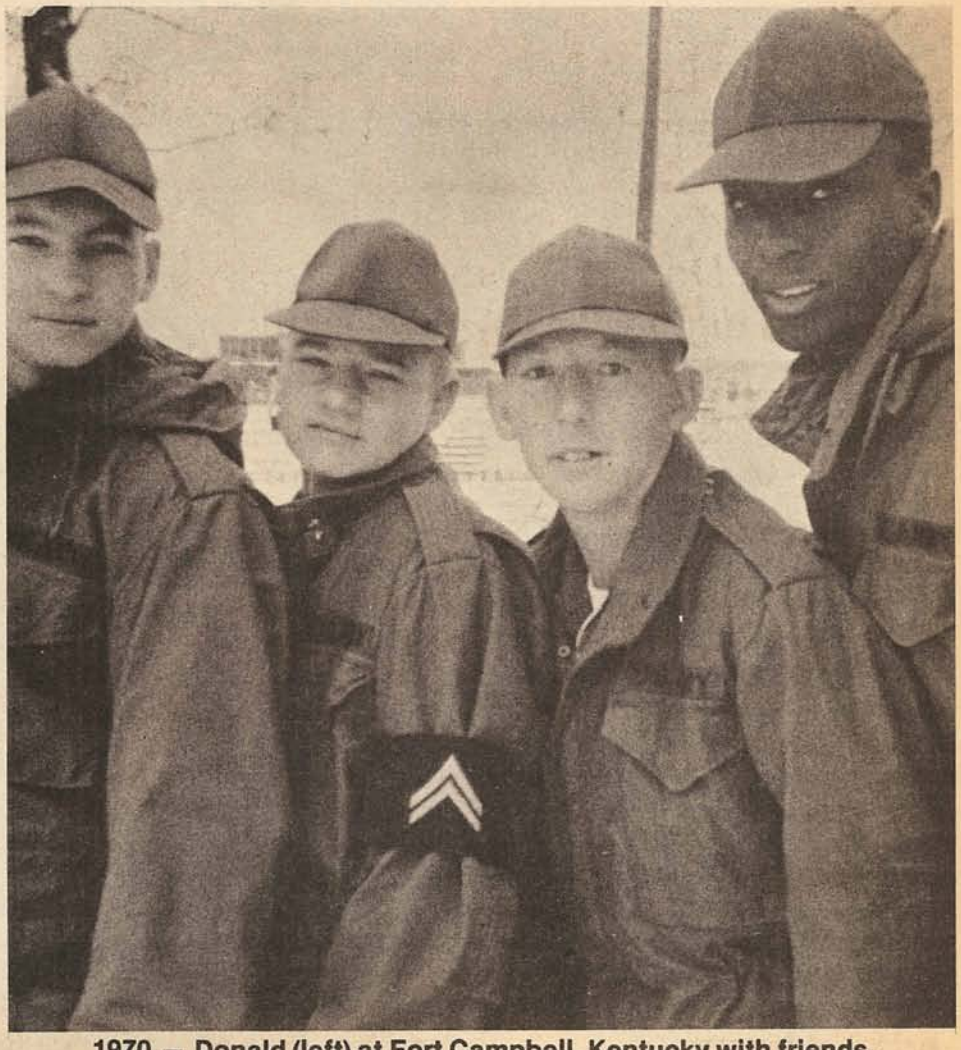
"They wanted us to move at night. The whole platoon refused. You couldn't see anything."

They wanted us to move at night and everybody refused. You couldn't see anything. There wasn't anything they could really do to us for refusing. They needed us too much.

Half the time you couldn't see the people that you were fighting anyway. The Vietnamese people were not stupid. The North Vietnamese and the Viet Cong knew how to fight us. As much as I would like to say they were stupid I can't do it. Because they weren't. They kicked ass. They did what we were supposed to do but couldn't.

Once, when I was on base duty, my squad got hit pretty bad. From what I understand they were moving at night and the lead man got hit by a 'bouncing Betty.' A lot of them were wounded. The following day we

Donald Tolson before he joined the service.



1970 — Donald (left) at Fort Campbell, Kentucky with friends.

Behind The Faces

had to go back out and deal with the remains.

Altogether I was in the field about six months before I got hit.

I still don't even know what hit me. We were setting up a perimeter. We'd been on this hill for a few days which is a bad move to begin with. You never stay still for too long because Charlie would definitely zero you in with his mortars. We got some new people in that day. They had just come from the states. When you just come from the states you don't know what's happening. . .It takes time to get the feeling of everything. They heard some noise. . .I went over and got hit.

A helicopter came and picked me up and took me to the hospital. They performed surgery on me. They cut out a portion about the size of a fifty cent piece. I felt nothing. They sent me to Japan for a few weeks, then they sent me home. A year after I went back for another operation. From what I understand of the operation, they put a piece of plastic in to replace what they cut out.

Shooting at a target is one thing and shooting at another human being is something different. You did things over there that you wouldn't ever dream of doing here. There has got to be something inside of you to make you pull a trigger on another human being. But when it comes down to my life or someone else's, that gun is going to be emptied if I can empty it.

Some of my cousins went to Vietnam. They came back pretty messed up. One of them has a plastic bag for a stomach. A lot of people got messed up there.

When I got out of the service I went back to Kentucky for a couple of years. I've been back in the neighborhood for a few years now.

I get a pension every month. But I could have come back all in one piece and I would have picked that if I had a choice. Don't misunderstand me. If I thought there was a threat to my family's and friend's safety and security I would go back and fight again somewhere else. You got to believe in something. But I don't think that veterans got showed any respect. □

Donald and Carol Tolson and their children.

Tenants Ask HUD — Decent Housing Or Real Estate Rip-Off?

(Chicago, Ill.) Tenants at 869 W. Buena, fed up with building conditions they describe as wretched, are withholding rents and negotiating an 11 point proposal they hope will correct problems in the long-troubled building owned by HUD (Department of Housing and Urban Development).

Residents of the 167 unit apartment building located in Uptown, say the building has been deteriorating for many years because HUD allowed two real estate companies, hired to oversee the building's operation, "to run the building into the ground." The two companies involved are City Centrum Corp., which managed the building for six years and Hogan, Farwell and Marken Realty, the current management agent.

Residents at 869 W. Buena believe their building, surrounded by empty lots and gutted shells, is a pawn in the game of two northside realty companies.

"There are apartments where the plaster is falling down, the plumbing doesn't work, the heating doesn't work. In fact they need to replace the boiler altogether. There are no smoke detectors or fire extinguishers," were some of the conditions related by resident Alicia Latimor. Tenants also complain that management, particularly City Centrum did nothing to stop major drug dealing based out of the building. Because of these problems the building has been less than half occupied for a number of years, the tenants explained. City housing inspectors have found numerous code violations.

The primarily Black tenants believe they are being run out of the building to make way for renovation, to attract a higher income bracket. "I believe they want the colored people out," said one 20 year resident.

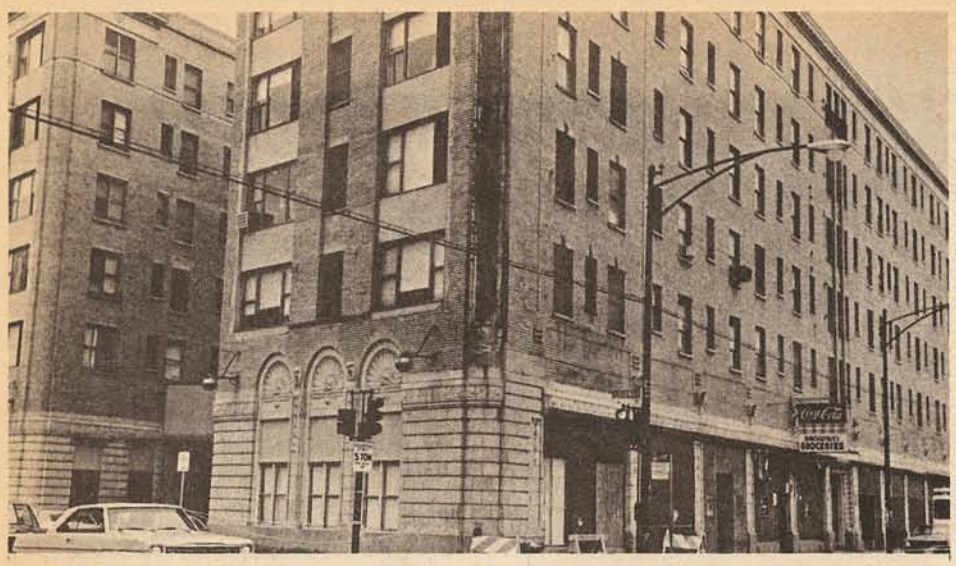
The proposed agreement, drawn up by tenants with help from attorneys at Uptown Legal Services, asks for a 25 percent reduction in rent until the building is brought up to code and a 50 percent cut in all rents owed as damages due to the tenants resulting from HUD's negligence in maintaining safe and decent living conditions. Other major points include cancelling all rents owed before January 1, 1977, because of the lack of accurate records kept by City Centrum and written leases for all tenants.

Tom Johnson, an attorney from Uptown Legal Services, says the plan would set a precedent if adopted but added he thought HUD would be reluctant to accept the proposal in its present form. Ms. Latimor was also not sure the plan would be approved, "HUD is not sure if they want to have this kind of a compromise with tenants in a building such as this, because they never had it before. They don't know if they want to come down, so to speak. It's better for them to say they're the boss around here."

The building, at the corner of Broadway and Buena has nine of its ground-level storefronts boarded up and stands surrounded by empty lots and abandoned, fire-gutted buildings. During the 1960's much of Uptown was designated as a target area for federal monies and programs aimed at improving the neighborhood and providing decent low-cost housing. Instead, say many community groups, the programs have often been used to destroy housing and devastate the neighborhood.

869 W. Buena's problems began in 1967, when William Henning Ruben, owner of several hotels, obtained a $1.4 million government-

Alicia Latimor is working with other tenants to force HUD to meet their demands.



An internal HUD memo in February stated that Hogan, Farwell and Marken was not equipped to manage the building — 6 months later they still had the contract.

insured bank loan to convert the Buena building from a hotel to an apartment building. Before the remodeling was completed, however, Ruben fell delinquent on the loan payment, forcing HUD to pay off the balance of the loan and assume ownership of the building. In 1972, HUD hired City Centrum to manage the building until it could be sold. (Under federal law HUD is required to sell the building).

According to tenants at 869 Buena, under management of City Centrum the building went to pieces. Rising complaints from tenants and quarreling between City Centrum and HUD brought Centrum's cancellation of the management contract last spring. After submitting a low-bid, Hogan, Farwell & Marken were contracted by HUD to put the building in order.

But Hogan, Farwell & Marken, say tenants, didn't start out any differently than City Centrum. After intense pressure from tenants on HUD, Hogan, Farwell & Marken began to fix up, paint and improve hallways and other public areas but little was done inside apartments. Apparently HUD was displeased with H,F&M performance. In a February 27 memorandum, John Pritscher of HUD wrote, "It appears that their [H,F&M] operation is not geared to deal with the types of problems this building presents and, therefore, it would be mutually advantageous if the contracts were cancelled." However, no formal action was taken by HUD to date.

During the 1960's, Uptown was targeted for federal monies and programs to aid the area's housing. But some say the programs were used do destroy housing and turn Uptown into one of the hottest real estate markets in the city.

City Centrum and H,F,&M are active in the northside real estate market. Community organizations in Uptown say both companies have taken part in destroying housing for low and moderate income tenants.

City Centrum is headed by William P. Thompson, former son-in-law of the late Mayor Daley. Thompson's company has been involved in numerous real estate deals in the immediate area surrounding the Buena building. In 1975 community groups charged that Thompson ran out the predominantly elderly residents of the Montrose Beach Apartments at Montrose and Broadway, by letting garbage pile up in the hallways, stripping the building's fixtures and allowing heavy dope trafficking out of the building. The Montrose Beach was gutted by over 20 fires and later demolished by Thompson to make way for his proposed Pensacola Place, a two-tower luxury apartment high-rise.

Hogan, Farwell and Marken, say community groups, teamed up with attorney George Brown and notorious Uptown slumlord, Tony Enderle to form Three Star Enterprises. Three Star bought up dozens of slum buildings in Uptown and sold them for a quick profit to anyone who could come up with some cash. Three Star finally disbanded after being exposed by neighborhood groups and the local press.

Ms. Latimor concludes, "That is the goal of management and some building speculators in this area — to have the people out of the building because it is a large building and can easily be renovated for higher rent. That is the ultimate goal of the management but the goals of the tenants is to have this building be put in such a way that people can live here in decent housing."□

Food Stamp Funds Short $2 Billion, 50% Cuts Possible

(Washington, D.C.) Food stamp benefits to the nation's low-income households face severe cutbacks in the months ahead. A substantially higher than projected increase in food prices is responsible, according to an announcement by the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

Secretary of Agriculture Robert Bergland said food stamps may be cut 50 percent or more in August and September, the last two months of this year's fiscal budget, unless Congress approves an additional $600 million for the program. The total shortage of $1 billion has been decreased by $300 million left over from the 1978 appropriation that will be used for the current year. Department of Agriculture officials say there could be a $2 billion shortage in the program for fiscal year 1980, which begins in October.

"The cuts could be necessary," Bergland explained, "chiefly because unexpectedly high food prices have boosted the cost of the program well above original budget projections, and without supplemental funding the program is going to run out of money before the end of the year."

Food stamp benefits, currently averaging 33 cents per person per meal, are indexed to the cost of food. Under the Food Stamp Act of 1977, Congress set a maximum budget for each fiscal year from 1978 through 1981, based on estimates of food price inflation. At the time the law was enacted, that inflation was projected at 3 to 4 percent each year. However, food prices have shot up 22 percent in the first two years since the bill's passage, according to the announcement.

Any food stamp cuts would affect all households equally, noted Bergland, with reductions applied on a flat percentage basis. States would notify food stamp households of benefit cuts through the news media, direct mailing of notices or posters in food stamp offices, he said.

The real problems will begin in October — the food stamp budget will be $2 billion short next year.

Mr. Miranda (pictured above) says he will have to borrow from friends and relatives or go into debt.

According to the Department of Agriculture, benefit cuts due to a budget shortfall have never happened in the 15-year history of the program. The shortage follows substantial cuts now being made in food stamps for several million persons, a result of tighter eligibility and benefit rules in the 1977 law.

While the new act has terminated or reduced benefits for many higher-income households, the Dept. of Agriculture says it has resulted in increased participation by lower income households, contributing to increased program costs. Since January of this year

when the requirement that households purchase their food stamps was dropped, several million persons have entered the program. These persons were previously eligible, but had not participated because they could not afford to buy their food stamps. While a significant increase was anticipated, it has occured at a faster rate than projected.

Many Illinois residents will be hard hit by any type of food stamp cuts — Cook County alone has 223,600 households receiving food stamps assistance.

Audrey Denecke from the Food Justice Center in Chicago believes Congress will approve the extra funds needed for fiscal year 1979, but is concerned about the larger shortages predicted for 1980 and 1981. Denecke fears Congress will cut down on the numbers served by the food stamp program or the amount of food stamps given to recipients. One proposed change, would implement "pro-rata" cuts — cutting out those who least qualify for food stamps. The danger in pro-rata cuts, notes Denecke, is that the elderly will be most affected. "To maintain the health of the program, we're really going to have to fight hard just to keep it the way it is now," she says.

Denecke points out that many Illinois residents will be hard hit by any type of food stamp cuts. April, 1979 figures from the Congressional Budget Office show there is a total of 311,407 households or 857,351 persons in Illinois receiving food stamps. Out of that, 200,754 of the households receive some form of public assistance. Cook County alone has 223,600 households on the food stamp program. Recipients in Illinois average $31 a month in food stamps.

Persons receiving food stamps don't know what they'll do if their benefits are cut. Most recipients interviewed said that what they get now does not stretch a full month.

José Miranda, unemployed and a single parent of four children, receives $147 a month in food stamps, which averages out to $29.40 per person per month. Miranda says if food stamps were cut in half "$75 would be gone in a week." He feels his only alternative would be to borrow money from friends or relatives, and go into debt. He said he heard about the proposed cutbacks from a televison news broadcast and he has received no information so far from the food stamp office.

Rosemary McGuinn, the mother of nine children, currently receives $247 a month in food stamps. "Now the stamps are gone a week and a half before I get the next month's," she related. "If they cut them in half that will definitely hurt. It will really be hard for anyone, not only myself, but other people who have the same problem." She says she'll have to pay just half the rent but that won't work for too long.

The alternatives don't look good for most.□

Rosemary McGuinn and her nine children receive $250 per month in food stamps and run out after two and a half weeks.

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"We Are Here"

CABLA announces recent victories — Cites weakness in Federal Black Lung Program

On July 15, the Chicago Area Black Lung Association released the names of members who had won their claims in the previous six months.

Formed in 1976, the Black Lung Association now represents over 200 former miners and widows in claims for black lung benefits under the Federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Act.

But even while its winnings approach the half-million mark, the association reports that the treatment of the nation's retired miners and miners' widows is still "plied with bureacracy, prejudice and contempt."

In a statement issued with the names of the winning claimants, Paul Siegel, CABLA staff worker, explained, "The tired bureaucrats, the gutless politicians, and the slick oil company directors want you to think we don't exist. For every claim we win, ten coal field migrants die somewhere and a thousand claims are denied unjustly. Hundreds of thousands of people are forced to work in sickness, or beg for public aid, or die slow painful pauper's deaths because these men continue to hide the truth, to subvert the program.

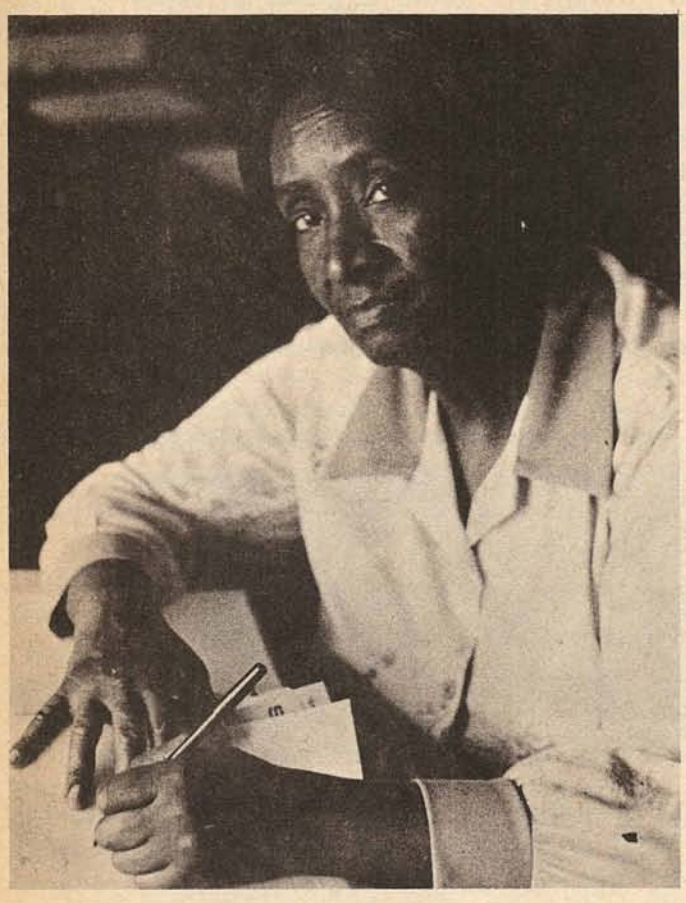
"It's good that we can win claims, but the more important victory is the recognition that we are here and we will be dealt with now."□

Chester Sheppard

Uptown, Chicago. Coal miner for 15 years in West Virginia. Applied for black lung benefits in 1970. Following an initial denial, he was referred to a hospital for X-rays by his family physician who noted a disabling respiratory problem. He had the film sent to the Social Security Administration. They denied the claim and he finally became discouraged. Investigation by the Chicago Area Black Lung Association showed that the film sent to Social Security was read not negative, but unreadable by the "B-reader" because of poor quality. But the miner was never told or advised to get another X-ray. Further investigation showed he had been read positive for black lung by a previous treating physician, but Social Security had neglected to obtain this record. Further examinations arranged by CABLA revealed more evidence of black lung. A new claim was filed and won under the 1979 amendments, but he is still fighting for retroactive pay back to 1974 (the maximum amount allowed under the amendments on the original claim).

Richard Ricona
Andy Charnisky

Miners from Southern Illinois, living in Berwyn. Victims of delay and unfair Department of Labor standards, they won their claims under the 1978 amendments.



Verna Kimbrow

Westside, Chicago. One of the many widows victimized by the fact that when their husbands were alive and suffering from black lung, the disease was never recognized because of the coal industries' cover-up of the facts about it. Denied on her claim, filed in 1971. Claim won on review under the 1978 amendments which allow decisive weight to the widow's own testimony if there is no medical evidence available.

Bransom Blankenship

Lived in Uptown, recently moved to North Carolina, founding member of the Chicago Area Black Lung Association and past chairman. Worked 20 years as a miner in Virginia. Moved to Chicago and struggled to keep working at a factory as his black lung worsened until he finally had to stop working in 1973. Despite considerable evidence in his favor he was denied at a hearing conducted by the notoriously bigoted Administrative Law Judge Connor who concluded that since he had worked in a factory during the year 1973, he was not disabled. With the help of an attorney, the original claim was won in federal court in 1978.

Boyd Payne

Uptown, Chicago. Applied for benefits in 1972. Despite evidence of severely disabling respiratory problems and a positive X-ray he was denied on the grounds that he lacked proof of his years in the mines and an alleged negative reading by a B-reader. Went as far as a formal hearing represented only by his wife and was still denied, finally becoming discouraged. Investigation by CABLA showed he had worked over 20 years in the mines in Kentucky. The alleged negative X-ray report used to justify the denial could not be found anywhere, thus denying his civil right to see "evidence" against him or confront an unfriendly witness. Original claim re-opened by CABLA and won in 1979.

Edra Smith

Widow of Arthur Smith. The case of Arthur Smith (12 years a miner in West Virginia. Came to Chicago in 1959) was frequently cited by CABLA as an example of the complete neglect of coal field migrants suffering from black lung in Chicago. He died alone, in his apartment, having suffered from terrible breathing problems and being unable to afford a doctor for the last year of his life. Claim won under the 1978 amendments on the basis of autopsy report.

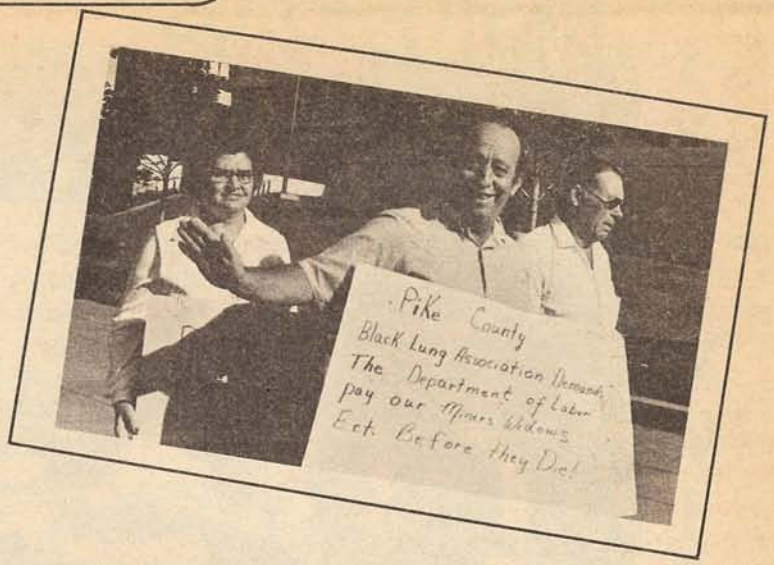
Sarah Dotson

Widow of Therman Dotson, 15 years in the mines, who died at 39 after years of chronic respiratory problems. The case was closed when she failed to appeal a letter denying her claim. She never received the letter. One of CABLA's original members, she refused to be discouraged by the Social Security Administration officials who said there was no point in pursuing the claim. Past medical evidence of black lung was finally found by CABLA and the claim was finally won under the 1978 amendment.

Geneva Hall

Originally denied her widow's claim, filed in 1970, on the grounds that her husband's death in 1969 was due to lung cancer and not black lung. Mrs. Hall was discouraged from pursuing her claim at the local Social Security office. Investigation by CABLA showed that the actual medical records at the time of his death, noted that he suffered severely chronic respiratory problems for years before the cancer had started. Contacted by CABLA, the treating physician agreed the long term respiratory disease was probably caused by his many years as a miner in Alabama and Kentucky. The claim was finally won on review under the 1978 amendments.

CABLA Members In Nation's Capital



(Washington, D.C.) Disabled miners and widows from Kentucky, West Virginia, Virginia, Tennessee and the Chicago area came together once again on June 26, to picket the Department of Labor until top officials agreed to meet with the miners' representatives. The subject was 12 demands which the Black Lung Associations had discussed and voted upon.

The demands centered on the failures in the Federal government's carrying out of the 1978 reform of the Federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Act.

The demands fell under four general areas of concern:

1. **Back log of claims:** This will greatly increase when a large number of old claims are transferred to the Department of Labor from the Social Security Administration.

2. **Medical benefits** and the general failure to establish a standard national procedure for implementing them. The law provides for all respiratory care for black lung beneficiaries to be paid for. But the bureaucracy has set up so much red tape that many doctors in the coal fields are unable to get paid by the Department of Labor. They have resorted to billing the miner themselves, leaving the miner with the impossible task of getting the Department of Labor to pay the bill.

3. **Department of Labor Field Service Offices:** The Black Lung Associations charged that there had been a failure to adequately equip or staff these local offices set up to enable miners and widows to get help in pursuing their claims. From 1973-78 the Department of Labor ran the entire black lung program out of Washington, D.C., providing no local accountability to black lung victims. Many victims had to wait years to receive incomprehensible form letters from Washington. Participants felt that the Department of Labor bureaucracy preferred this lack of accountability and had basically "programmed" the new local offices to fail.

4. **Coal Miners' Respiratory Clinics:** The Black Lung Associations were especially bitter about the fate of $7.5 million in money allocated for setting up clinics for treatment of black lung victims. This money will fall under the control of state governors instead of rank and file coal miners. Black lung organizers believe that by the time the patronage and other political uses of the money is finished little will be left for any serious program of outreach and treatment and patient education for black lung victims.

After several hours of picketing the Black Lung Associations were invited in to meet with officials. According to black lung negotiators answers to the 12 demands were somewhat vague but the feeling among participants was that they had succeeded in keeping the pressure on the bureaucracy and that some improvements would result.

Many of the participants were themselves black lung victims, veterans of the 10 year continuing struggle for a federal program to compensate, treat and prevent black lung disease.

What explains their persistance after 10 years of fighting over complex questions of legislature, regulations and procedures?

A spokesman for the Chicago Area Black Lung Association explained, "The rank and file struggle over black lung represents a victory for poor and working people." Left in the hands of federal bureaucrats who are subject to the influence of the coal industry any real victory in the program will surely be taken away. Behind the many years of demands over particular grievances lies a question important to all working people. Can the movement for occupational safety and health keep its integrity in the face of government's attempt to control and define the issues in terms acceptable to the big oil and coal corporations?□

NASH PHOTOS

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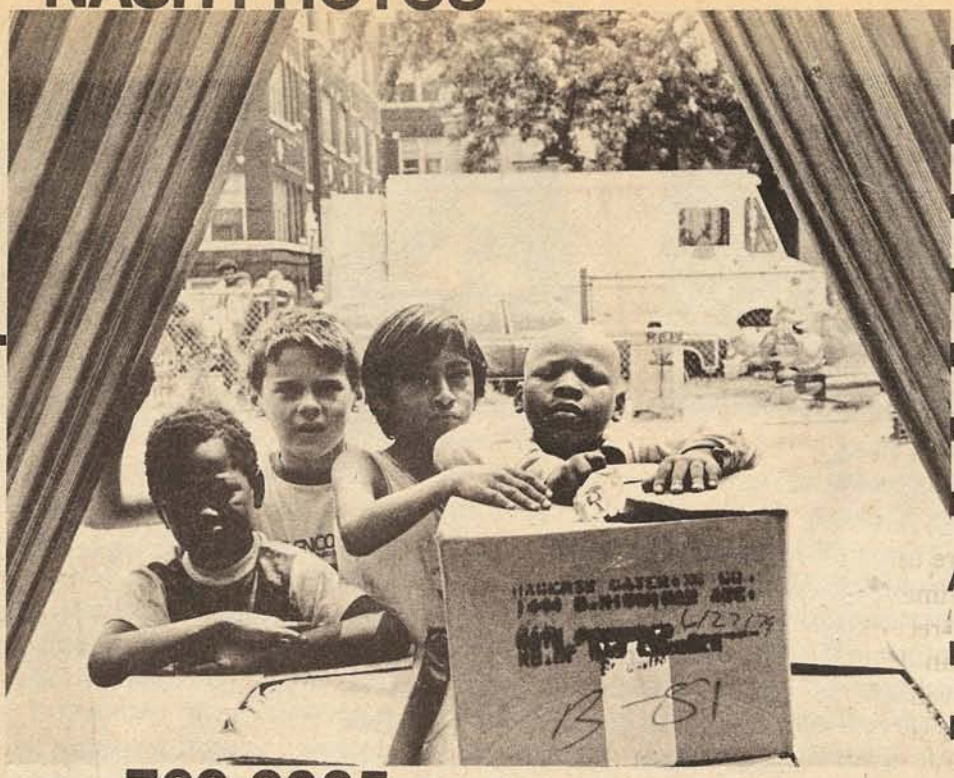

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Is Anybody Working On The Railroad?

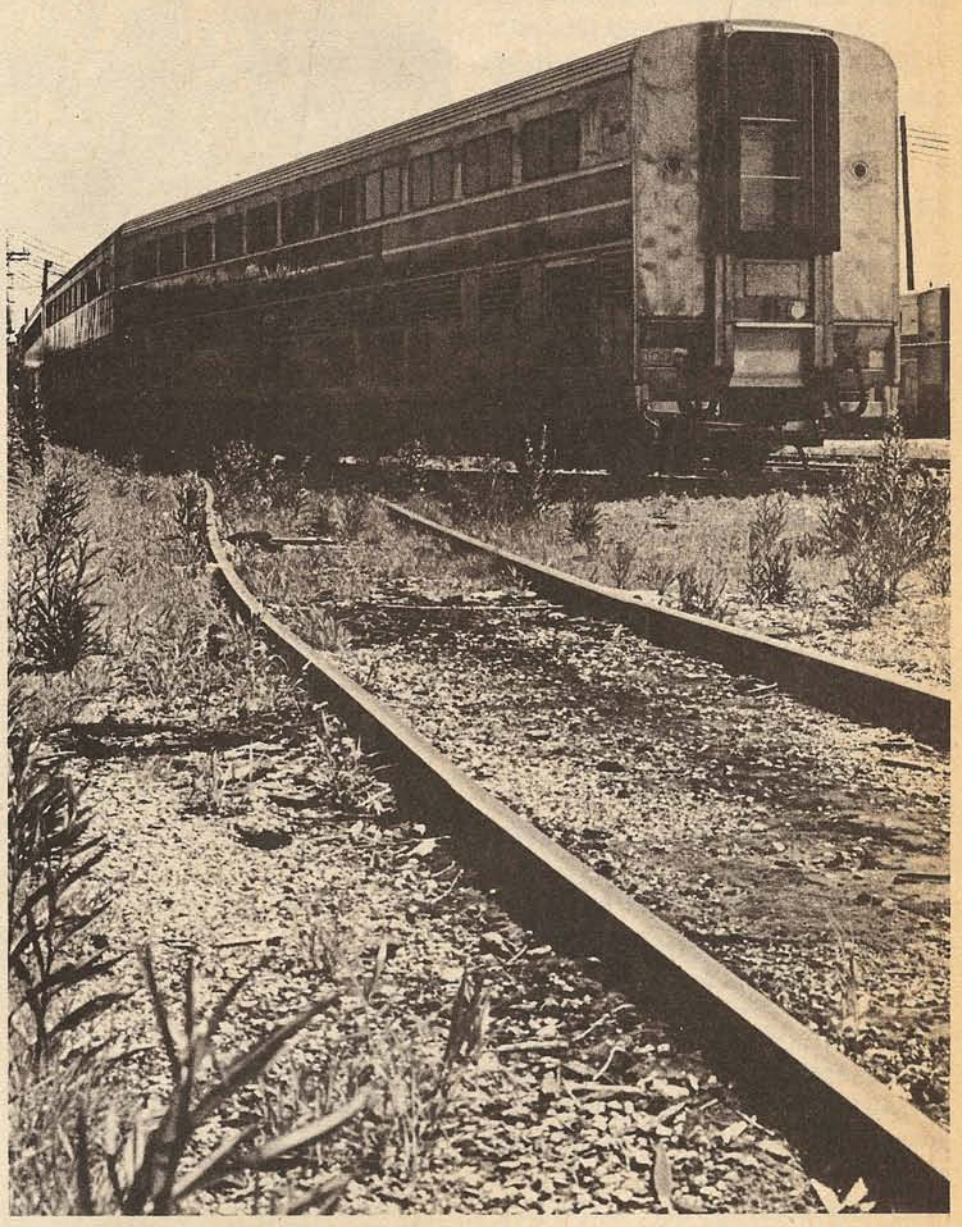
So, you're trying to decide where to take your family for a couple of weeks this summer, but the gas crisis has you worried. You're not in such a hurry that you've thought about flying, and everyone knows how bad the trains are. But, then again, some people think they are worth trying out.

Amtrak's reservations are up 128 percent over the same time last year. In May, 1979 they received 6.8 million calls. More than 4 million of these people received busy signals because of a lack of staff to handle the deluge. (May, 1978 figures were 1.7 million calls and 92,000 busy signals). Of the 2 million calls handled, 756,000 had to be turned away because accommodations were not available. Amtrack would like very much to serve these potential customers, but there is a problem. They have only 2,000 cars for the 27,000 track miles covered. (Germany has 18,000 cars 26,000 cars for 1,300 miles of track).

The reason stretches back to Amtrak's inception. In 1970 the private passenger rail systems were losing $600 million per year. This was being written off as tax losses by the freight companies that owned the passenger lines. The government decided that for this price they could run the system themselves, and in 1971, followed every other country in the world by nationalizing the American rail passenger service.

The first year the National Rail Passenger Corporation (Amtrak) was in existence, they were allotted $40 million for operating expenses; only seven percent of the amount that was needed to maintain the service as it was in 1970. By 1979, the subsidy reached $611 million, enough to maintain a 1971 system at 1971 prices.

In 1971, the newest cars dated from the early 1950's and the majority were pushing 35 years of age. Breakdown expenses for these ancient cars were enormous. But the first federal allotment for capital improvements didn't come until 1976.



Four million people tried to call Amtrak but couldn't get through in May of 1979.

This continuous lack of operating and capital funds, while trying to compete with heavily subsidized modes of travel has seriously hindered the passenger rail service in the U.S. However, the absence of money for Amtrak does not reflect federal policy towards travel subsidies. Since 1925 the airlines have received $36 billion in subsidies. Adriana Gianturco, Secretary of Transportation of California says that if there were no subsidies, the air traveler from New York to California would pay a whopping $1,000 one way.

Since 1921, the highway system has received a staggering $427 billion; the rails only today receive a mere two percent of the federal subsidies for transportation.

Bob Casey of Amtrak's public relations department in Chicago thinks that "Amtrak's competition is the automobile. If you have the choice of being on a dirty, rickety old train and being mistreated by a nasty conductor or traveling in your own car, you take the car."

According to reliable sources, Amtrak's biggest obstacle in attempting to provide adequate, efficient and energy saving transportation seems to be the Department of Transportation and the former Secretary of Transportation, Brock Adams. Adams propsed cutting Amtrack's routes by 43 percent to save $1.4 billion over a five year period. This amount "saved" might build four clover leaf highway interchanges for one of the most inefficient means of transportation. In a time when most people speak of saving energy in transportation, the United States is losing one of the most efficient means. The private automobile gets about 20-120 passenger miles per gallon (mpg) of fuel. Air travel will yield from 35-60 mpg; buses from 120-240 mpg and trains about 400 mpg.

Chicago's Union Station: Amtrack's reservations are up 128 percent over the same time last year.

In a time when most people speak of saving energy in transportation, the United States is losing one of the most efficient means.

Adams supported this proposal by assuring us that over 90 percent of Amtrak's customers will still be served in spite of the cutback. This is hard to believe since one train slated to be dropped by Adams' plan, the Crescent, an Amtrak daily running from New Orleans to New York, is over 90 percent booked with its sleeping accommodations 99 percent full. Similar conditions exist on most other long distance trains and Amtrak personnel feel there are few signs that ridership will return to pre-gas crisis lows.

Amtrak president, Alan S. Boyd has continually stressed that "Amtrak is a public service." Until this is accepted and proper adjustments in Amtrak's budget are made, the U.S. stands in danger of losing what most other countries in the world have decided is the most efficient method of transportation.□

Text and Photos by John Berton

Hundreds to Be Evicted — Private Developers Backed By City, State In Edgewater Rehab Plan

(Chicago, Ill.) More than 900 tenants face eviction from their apartments due to the largest multi-unit rehab project in the history of the city of Chicago. The $13 million project known as the Edgewater Rehab Project involves ten buildings located at 5100-5400 N. Kenmore and 5200-5400 N. Winthrop.

Developers for the project, McHugh-Levin, plan to invest only about $2-$3 million of their own money and will receive the major funding through a $10.5 million loan from the Illinois Housing Development Authority (IHDA) and a $1.6 million rehab grant from Chicago's community development program.

The venture is a good example of a tax shelter in which private developers using little of their own money reap big profits. Present tax laws allow McHugh-Levin and their investors to take big tax deductions for the costs of construction and rehabilitation.

Last spring angry tenants organized as the Tenants Ken-Win group to publicly voice their concerns about the rehab project. Despite IHDA regulations that displaced persons should be given preference in moving back into the project, there were absolutely no guarantees that people who are evicted will be able to get back in.

A series of demands drawn by the tenants have been presented to McHugh-Levin, their management company HABITAT, and officials from IHDA. Demands include *written* guarantees that present tenants will have a voice in the tenant selection procedure; the hiring of a Spanish-speaking worker by the management company; rents in the new project that the present tenants can afford; tenants given a minimum notice of 90 days to move and a guarantee that the building will stay on the rental market for at least 20 years.

Probably the most critical issue to the tenants is the tenant selection procedure and relocation plans. Under the plan 100 percent of the units will be eligible for section 8, a HUD program where tenants pay 25 percent of their income for rent and the federal government subsidizes the rest. However, McHugh-Levin projects 70 percent of the units will go to Section 8 and 30 percent at the fair market rent. Based on income, family size and availability of units, IHDA estimates only about 40 percent of the present tenants will be eligible to move back in.

The venture is a tax shelter. . .private developers, using little of their own money, reap big profits. . . .

Tenants of the targeted buildings meet regularly to plan their tactics and defense.

Ken-Win leaders point to the serious problems with the present tenant selection and relocation

plans. If tenants want to get back in they have to be approved by a HABITAT worker. Besides income eligibility, the interviewer looks at such things as "housekeeping habits, credit-worthiness and timely payment of rent." Tenants who choose not to move back in or who are disqualified are turned over to the city's Department of Planning, City and Community Development for relocation. As a result of community pressure, tenants won their demand that tenants approved will get a written guarantee of an apartment.

According to tenants, HABITAT interviewers have popped in on families at 8 a.m. when mothers were trying to get children off to school. By July many tenants had been disqualified because of "poor housekeeping" but were never told in writing how to appeal the decision.

According to lawyers from the Legal Assistance Foundation working with the tenants, there are HUD regulations requiring IHDA to review the extent of displacement and relocation benefits available to tenants before approving the developer's plan.

In July, representatives of Ken-Win and their attorneys met with IHDA director, Donald W. Hoaglund to present their demands. One of the important victories won by the tenants, as a result of the meeting, is that the tenants in phase 1 of the project, scheduled to be out by July 31, have received written notices that they will get a 30 day extension.

At the meeting Hoaglund was informed that some tenants with four and five children were being told by city relocation workers to go out and look for 2-room apartments, but "to get out by the 31st." The director said he was "shocked" and "would look into it."

According to one tenant leader, the outcome of the meeting was more "empty promises" and "passing the buck" as Hoaglund told tenants to go back and talk to Dan Levin, the developer. The tenants called Levin the next day but were told he didn't want to meet with them and they should put their concerns in writing.

A three bedroom unit (in the building above) that now rents for $200 a month, will go for $525 after redevelopment.

The deepest fear of the tenants is that the Edgewater Rehab Project is being geared to an entirely different class of people. Rents in the rehabbed project are astronomical. A 2-bedroom unit will rent on the market for $450 in contrast to $150-$190 a month today. A 3-bedroom apartment will go for $525 in contrast to $200 a month now.

This has become a familiar pattern in Chicago. Private developers like McHugh-Levin go into deteriorating neighborhoods where land value is high, buy up the buildings, rehab the units into luxury apartments while the tenants are moving out. The developers then apply for funds like Section 8. Over the years as the area attracts more middle and upper income people additional units will go for the market rents. Eventually the building goes condo.

Tenants point out that the rehab project will have no efficiencies and only two 4-bedroom units, thus eliminating non-elderly single people and large families. The legal questions are clear: if public funds from Section 8 and community development, intended to help low and moderate income people get decent housing and create stable communities, are involved, what legal rights do the present tenants have?

What will happen to the hundreds of tenants who face eviction? Stella Cannella of 5104 N. Kenmore is among the first group of tenants who had to be out by July 31. She is a mother of six, resident of the building for ten years and one of the Ken-Win leaders. Stella told KEEP STRONG that the issue is "to get better housing... that loan was for us." Instead, she says, they (McHugh-Levin) are bringing "their type of people in... the rich people."

The more outspoken tenants like Stella have been told by the company that they can get back in. "But it's wrong....It's not an individual problem. The problem is poor housing for the people of the community. Enough is enough."□

Byrne's Arson Program — Does It Aim At Those Who Profit?

The smell of smoke, the fear of flames, and the sound of sirens haunt many neighborhoods here in Chicago. In some communities the deliberate setting of fires – arson – has become a way of life (and death) for some time. In late June, amid a flurry of publicity Mayor Byrne acknowledged that the arson problem exists and unveiled a "new" program to combat it. Target neighborhoods include Uptown and Humboldt Park.

Many community groups are questioning whether the Mayor's program strikes at the heart of the problem: those who are making a *huge profit* from arson.

THE PATTERN OF ARSON – FOR – PROFIT

The people who actually light the match (for fifty to several hundred dollars) are way at the bottom of the ladder when it comes to arson-for-profit. The higher ups are those who make untold thousands of dollars: The real owners (often hidden behind phoney titles), who are often organized in rings with other assorted business partners; those who own building after building which fall to the torch.

These profiteers buy, sell, trade and resell properties; they make money while they allow the buildings to deteriorate. When the buildings are worn out, they put out a contract to have the buildings burned and collect enormous amounts of insurance money. Then they make yet more money by selling the destroyed properties to speculator/developers and sometimes even to city. They grab their tens of

No one has actually counted the number of units of housing that are destroyed by fire each year in Chicago or the number of families that lose everything they have.

thousands and move on to start again.

Which are the neighborhoods these profiteers choose to burn for big bucks? A look at the wall map of the Chicago Police Department's Bomb and Arson Squad (or a look out your window if you live in a target neighborhood) shows a pattern: arson is concentrated in neighborhoods which investors and the city have targeted for redevelopment. As the night follows day, so these arson brokers follow the lead of speculators/developers into these targeted communities.

In addition to the death, injury and destruction of housing and neighborhoods, arson makes people pay in other ways. Nationally, insurance companies pay out at least $2 *billion* each year on arson-burned properties. These costs are passed on, of course, to both renters and homeowners. Many housing activists say that here in Illinois insurance companies and a special state program have actually increased the profitability of arson.

Taxpayer money goes to a special state agency called the Illinois Fair Plan association which is supposed to help owners in "high risk" (poor) neighborhoods to get insurance.

As night follows day, so do arson brokers follow speculators and developers into targeted communities.

Owners are not, however, screened carefully; and they can often insure their buildings for far more than they seem to be worth, making it easy and attractive for rings of slumlords to burn their buildings. U.S. Senate hearings in Washington last September concluded that the Fair Plan Program may actually contribute to arson: "the correlation between Fair Plan coverage and torched properties is too obvious to ignore."

In addition, federal agencies like HUD were urged by the committee to take more aggressive action to monitor the Fair Plan and to ensure that federal funds for local assistance are actually spent on investigating and controlling arson-for-profit.

U.S. Senate hearings concluded that state Fair Plan programs, like the one in Illinois, actually contribute to the arson problem.

CITY HALL'S PLAN

It takes painstaking, careful investigation to get at those who are behind arson-for-profit schemes (And many of these people undoubtedly have powerful friends and connections.) Yet the Mayor's new program seems designed to focus on the bottom of the ladder: the one who lights the match. All of the inspection and surveillance programs announced at city hall are aimed in that direction. In addition, the program is headed by a long time city payroller John Donovan who acknowledges that arson-for-profit is a major factor but has not used his new position to make it the issue.

So far neither the city, nor the state, not the federal authorities have made a real dent in the problem. □

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- Immunizations – What are they?
- Nutrition and Health

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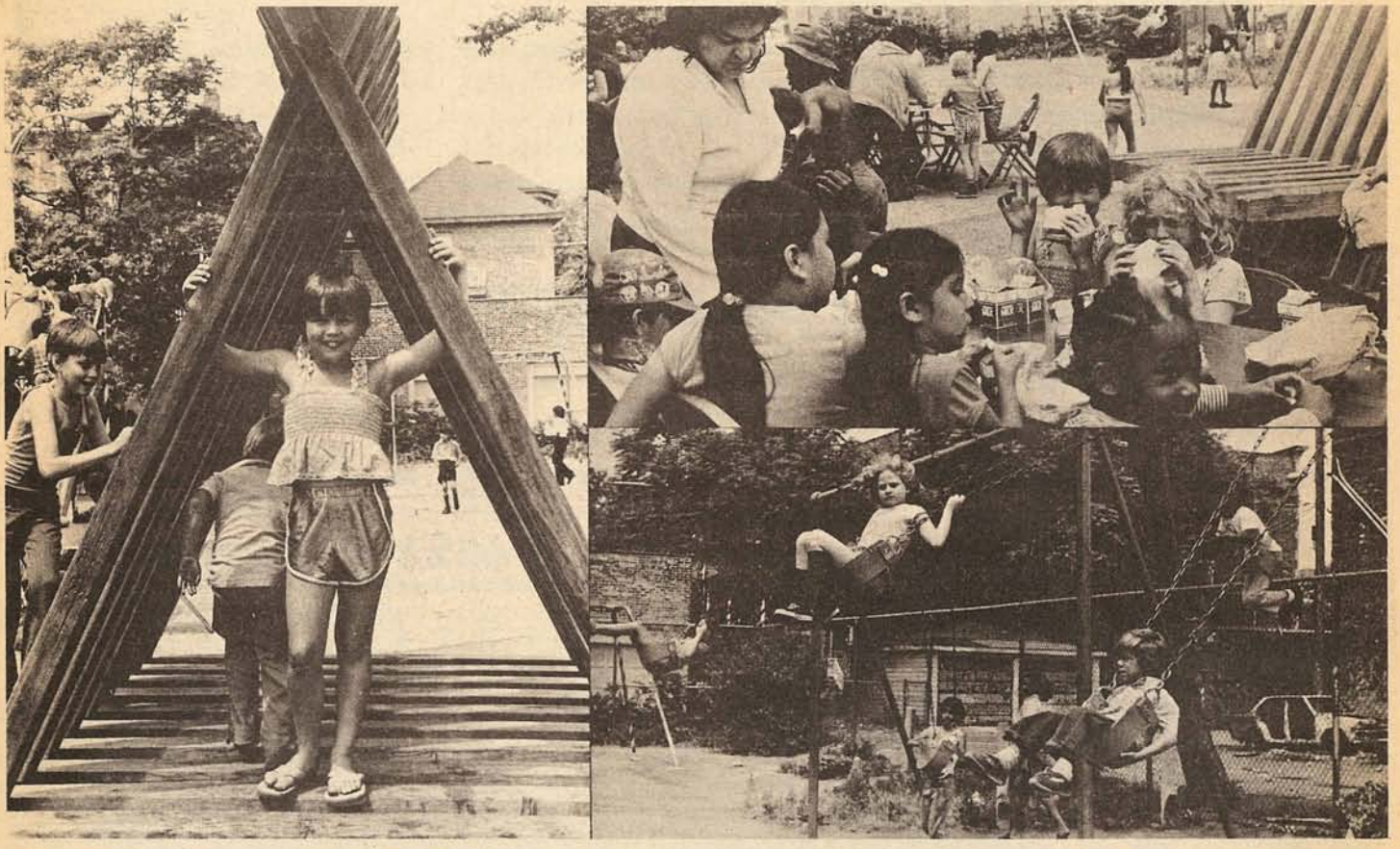

The lunch program at Leland and Malden enjoys the support and participation of both the parents and the children of the community.

This is the first year of the program at Broadway and Gordon Terrace. Children eat under the supervision of parents who run the program on a volunteer basis.

The program is now in its fifth year on the Sunnyside Mall. Community residents have found ways to improve the program each year.

At Kenmore and Buena, the mothers are well organized. The program is run efficiently. Many of the mothers have been working on the program, every summer since 1975.

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Illinois Legislature Gets Mixed Reviews

(Springfield, IL) The spring session of the Illinois State Legislature closed with uncertainty about things to come.

While some progress was made on certain issues (like election reform) the legislature took several backward steps on the issues of human and welfare rights.

Here are some of the bills that passed through both houses of the legislature (both good and bad) and are now on the Governor's desk for his signature or veto.

• Senate Bill 80 extends the voting hours to 7 p.m. This is a great step forward for Illinois, and it looks like the Governor will sign this bill into law. The Chicago machine has always opposed this bill in the past, and tried to scuttle the bill by amending it to death. Their efforts failed this time and we will all have an extra hour to vote in the next election.

• Senate Bill 1146 mandates the supervision of the casting of absentee ballots by residents of nursing homes. This bill will prevent the wholesale theft of hundreds of votes by machine precinct captains in numerous nursing homes in the city.

• Senate Bill 814 requires disclosure of secret land trust beneficiaries when building code violations exist and are not corrected. This bill is a major victory for tenants, especially those living in substandard housing.

• Senate Bill 176 requires recipients of general assistance to register for and perform work without compensation. This amounts to slave labor on the part of welfare recipients. It reflects the right-wing sentiment that prevails in Springfield and the efforts of a lot of politicians to look good in their districts.

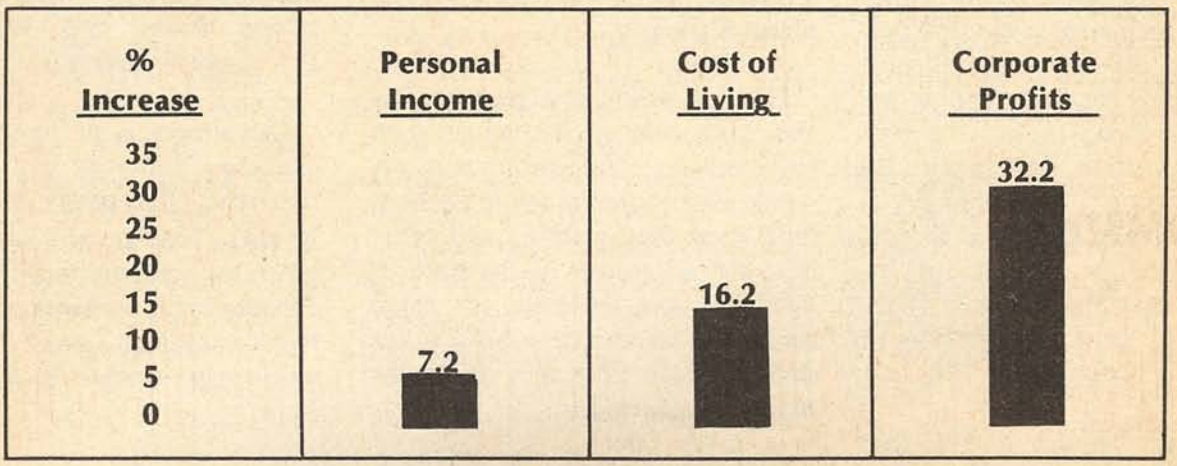
• House Bill 2678 ends the "confession of judgement" clause in consumer contracts and forces creditors to notify consumers before they can take them to court to collect loans.

• House Bill 2564 has been vetoed by the govenor. It would have gradually phases out the state sales tax on food and medicine, eliminating it completely on July 1, 1982.

In all, the past legislative session was not a good one for those living on a low or fixed income. To remedy this and to influence the legislature in the future, more action by the average citizen is needed. Keeping tabs on what is actually going on in Springfield is an important first step. Affecting who gets elected to the state legislature and holding these elected representatives accountable is essential. □

Keith Lesnick

The ABC's of Inflation 1976 — 1978



Thompson's Program for the Corporations

HELEN SHILLER

We have just come through a legislative session Illinois which makes me wonder by what standards we choose our elected officials – in this case the govenor?

For years now, Thompson has successfully come off as some kind of independent. If the label "independent" is to have a meaningful usage it is past the time to begin to establish standards by which to judge candidates and to match their practice. Thompson is a good case in point.

How has he stood on the issues during this legislative session? What, if anything, did his well-publicized campaign ploy for a referendum for a ceiling on taxes mean – except for illegal tactics, once again, to win an election? And finally, is Thompson really interested in cutting taxes or is he, in fact, just interested in assisting a special interest group of large corporations in Illinois?

Thompson vetoed a bill that would phase out the sales tax on food and medicine. The proposal as passed would take one cent a year off the tax currently on food and medicine. A family that spends $100 a week on food would save $260 a year. It is estimated that in the first year the tax cut would cost the state $45 million and the total phase-out would be $660 million.

Thompson was angry because the Democrats in the House and Senate killed every other tax proposal and sent this one to his desk. One of those killed was his own plan to raise the standard state income tax exemption from $1000 to $1,200 which would save a family of four about $20 a year.

Besides saving less money than the elimination of the tax on food and medicine, Thompson's proposal would cost more money in accountant, legal fees, printing and other administrative costs to the state. It does not cost the state any more money to let someone have a tax decrease each time they go to the market or pharmacy.

Currently the money from the tax on food and medicine goes into the general revenue fund. As of mid-July there was a $446 million surplus in this fund. The cost of $45 million in 1980 could easily be covered by the surplus. Supporters of the bill point out that the state's normal growth in revenue is 8.6 percent. This, they say, should cover the additional revenue loss after 1980.

Many consider a tax on food and medicine regressive and unfair because it discriminates against people with lower incomes who can afford it least. There are currently 37 states and Washington, D.C. that have no tax on medicine. Twenty-two states and Washington, D.C. have no tax on food.

One supporter of the sales tax cut charged Thompson with "absolute nonsense. It's pretty suspicious," he said, "that the only tax relief the governor will support is for large corporations, the large contributors to his campaign fund." This brings us to the corporate income tax fight.

The corporate personal property tax died on January 1, 1979. The

state legislature has had a mandate for the last nine years to find a replacement for it. Years ago the 'personal property tax' (the tax on property other than real estate) was enacted because personal property (like farm implements and livestock) was a simple measurement of wealth. Over the years personal property (such as securities) has become increasingly difficult to assess, easy to conceal, and no longer a good index of wealth.

In 1977 the corporate personal property tax was supposed to generate $698 million, but only $414 million was collected. Many corporations found loopholes in the law and failed to pay the tax.

The replacement tax, passed by the state legislature, added 2.85 percent to the 4 percent income tax corporations already pay. The increase would raise $519 million in 1980. But this is still $179 million short of the 1978 goal under the old tax. But, Thompson says he will lower the increase to 2.5 percent, a savings of $10 million to the corporations. The higher rate costs corporations only $3.50 per $1,000 of profit and still keeps their taxes lower than many other industrial states.

The money from this tax goes to local municipalities and taxing districts. In Chicago this includes the Board of Education, the RTA, the Park District and the Chicago Housing Authority. If the state does not raise the money these taxing authorities need, they will get the money by increasing real estate property taxes. As it is, housing costs in Chicago have increased by 12 percent during the last year.

So where are we at? A proposal that would give a substantial tax break to anyone each time they buy food and medicine is vetoed by the governor. A proposal to replace the corporate personal property tax is threatened to be vetoed by the governor for being too high a cost to business.

Now let's go one step further. During this legislative session a bill to give a 5 percent cost-of-living increase to families on public aid passed and was signed by Governor Thompson. Recipients, however, and many of their supporters had asked for a 7 percent increase. Thompson said this was impossible, too much money. Others said they don't deserve it — they should go out and get a job.

Governor Thompson seems more interested in providing tax cuts for corporations, than serving the concerns of the people.

But why was it impossible and why would anyone who could do better want to stay on public aid in Illinois? Just for those who do not realize it, a family of four on public aid receives $333 a month or $3,996 a year. In addition to this they would receive $111 monthly in food stamps. If they are to eat they will have to spend money from their check. If they are to have shelter they will probably have nothing left for clothing or transportation even to the market.

Since 1974, welfare recipients have received two 5 percent increases in the cost of living (once in 1978 and in the last session.) The cost of living in Chicago inflated 10.9 percent in the last year alone.

Looking at the public aid budget there was a surplus in the budget that was projected by the sponsors of the 7 percent cost-of-living increase as a source for the funds necessary. Thompson would not buy it. He was very verbal about this and the state legislature did not buy it. After all, they had more important fights.

However, on a regular basis, the private providers of the medicare portion of the public aid budget receive cost-of-living increases without it becoming a matter of public controversy. Again, when it came to a public hospital (Cook County Hospital) receiving in a lump sum the money it had been denied by the Department of Public Aid, but on which it counted for continuing services as a public hospital, we had a matter of public controversy. So again, where are we at? Caught holding the bag with a governor who is more interested in providing tax cuts for corporations than serving the many diverse and serious concerns of the people who live and must survive in the state.

Where are our standards? Maybe it's time to put them together. □

ELLA MAY WIGGINS

The Songs Of Struggle

Looking Back

by Eugene Feldman

Ella May Wiggins - North Carolina woman who wrote union songs to mountain melodies during the Gastonia textile strike of the 1920's.

by Eugene Pieter Feldman
Teacher, Columbia College, Life Arts Department

This is the story of Ella May Wiggins, a mountain woman of North Carolina who came down from her mountain home to the textile town of Gastonia. Here she worked and lived like a slave until the union came to organize.

She felt so strongly about the union that she was among the first to join. Then she began speaking for it and composing songs in its favor to old mountain melodies. Her husband died and then later she, at 29, was shot in the ensuing union struggle. She left five orphaned children and many songs.

In the year 1900, Ella May was born to a poor farm family in the North Carolina mountain country. When she was still in her teens she married the Wiggins boy, with whom she had grown up, gone to church and "kept company" all her life. Hearing stories of the fine city life, they left their mountain farm in the early 1920's and moved to Gastonia, North Carolina, to find work in the cotton mills.

In Gastonia, Ella May and her husband worked at the Loray Mills

Ella May Wiggins pictured with her children shortly before her death.

twelve and fourteen hours a day, six days a week, while at the same time, they were beginning to raise a family. Their joint wages just about took care of their expenses, and even when Ella May was going to have a baby, she worked right up until the last minute, and returned to work as soon as she was able.

Long hours, the poor diet and the dust breathed into his lungs from the mill finally took its toll, and Ella May's husband became consumptive. He endured a long, painful illness during which she had to nurse him, take care of the children and still work twelve hours daily at the factory. When her husband died, Ella May was left as the only protector of her children and had to continue her work at the mill to support them.

Working all night and sleeping whenever she could during the day was a very unsatisfactory arrangement because she had no time to be with her children, but the foreman of the mill heartlessly refused to put her on the day shift. The meager $8 a week that she was earning did not cover her needs, and when four of the children (she had nine) became ill she was unable to care for them.

"They died because I reckon I could not do for them," she later explained. "On $8 a week there was rent to pay, wood to buy, food, clothes, insurance, sometimes a doctor and medicine. But it just couldn't be done." (At a time when doctors were beginning to advise that each child should drink a quart of milk a day, Ella May's children were lucky to get a quart of milk a week for the nine of them.)

Then came hard times. The mill workers received a pay cut, and had to tend even more machines in a practice called the "stretch-out." Then too came the union. The National Textile Worker's Union, and Ella May was one of the first to join, urging all others in the mill to follow suit.

This is an excerpt from a speech she made at a union organizing meeting:

"I'm the mother of nine. Four of them died with the whooping cough, all at once. I was working nights and nobody to do for them, only Myrtle (her daughter). She's 11

and a sight of help. I asked the super to put me on the day-shift so I could tend 'em, but he wouldn't. I don't know why. So I had to quit my job and then there wasn't any money for medicine, so they just died. I never could do anything for my children, not even to keep 'em alive, it seems. That's why I'm for the union, so I can do better for them."

One of her first union songs describes her struggle to help her children, and was written with the ink of her heart.

We leave our home in the morning
We kiss our children goodbye,
While we slave for the bosses,
Our children scream and cry,

And when we draw our money,
Our grocery bills to pay,
Not a cent to spend for clothing,
Not a cent to lay away.

And on that very evening
Our little son will say:
"I need some shoes, dear Mother,
And so does sister May."

How it grieves the heart of a mother,
You everyone must know,
But we can't buy for our children,
Our wages are too low.

It is for our little children
That seem to us so dear,
But for us nor them, dear workers,
The bosses do not care.

But understand, all workers,
Our union they do fear;
Let's stand together, workers,
And have a union here.

When a mob raid was made on the union headquarters, the union members made an effort to defend themselves. In the fight that followed, some of those who led the raid were killed. The union leaders were arrested and were subject to the death penalty under North Carolina law. They were on trial when Ella May wrote this song:

They locked up our leaders,
They put them in jail,
They shoved them in prison,
Refused them bail.

The workers joined together,
And this was their reply:
We'll never, no we'll never
Let our leaders die!

We're going to have a union
All over the South
Where we can wear good clothes
And live in a better house.

Now we must stand together,
And to the boss reply:
We'll never, no, we'll never
Let our leaders die!

The union tried to hold a meeting to protest the raid on its headquarters, and again a mob attempted to prevent it. Ella May rode to the meeting with the rest of the union members in the back of the truck that served as a union bus, and the thugs opened fire on them. Ella May was shot down. The year was 1929. She was only 29 years old. She left five little orphans.

When she was buried, a trail of jalopy cars brought poor textile workers from all parts of North and South Carolina. Men and women came on foot through the woods and cotton fields to attend her funeral. The Marble Worker's Union of Vermont sent down a sparkling white monument for her grave, but for fear of defacement, it was never used. And they sang her song, the song of her children, with five of them standing at the head of her grave and four of them lying in the ground beside it.

A slow rain drizzled on the fresh red North Carolina clay where it was piled beside the open grave as six of her union brothers lowered the cheap casket tenderly into the ground. Her family, her friends, her union brothers and sisters broke out in one of her songs.

The songs of Ella May Wiggins cannot be understood and appreciated without knowing of her story. These songs tell of her personal struggles, suffering and dreams, and will continue to be an inspiration to all who listen to them.

Today many people listen to folk songs but few know of the agony that went into their making. The songs of Ella May Wiggins were not written merely for entertainment but to inspire and to cause men and women to consider social ills and build a better world. Even in the sophisticated and cynical 1970's this dream prevails. □

The Gastonia strike for better conditions was one of the bloodiest in the history of the American labor movement.

More than 150 people served notice on the mayor's office on June 20 that the community would resist anybody's masterplan.

Community Development Funds Year V

ANGER and STRUGGLE

The use and abuse of federal funds is not a new discussion in Chicago. Under the late Mayor Daley, whole communities were bought, sold and vanquished using federal money.

In 1979, as the city prepared its application for "community development" block grant funds, hundreds of people representing tens of thousands marched on city hall.

The demands were for an end to the federal subsidy of the master-plan and the beginning of direct community control of community development.

The year was 1974. In Uptown more than 1,000 families had already packed their bags to make way for Truman College. In the Loop, the Model Cities program was packing its bags to make way for the Community Development program, which pooled a host of federal programs born in the sixties. Community Development was what Richard Nixon, who was also packing his bags, left behind as a

legacy to his commitment to the elimination of communities of poor and minority people, nationwide.

The Community Development Act was a modest accomplishment which, the outgoing chief executive had guaranteed one year earlier, would "force power and funds" to flow from the federal government to the cities and the people.

In Chicago the mere mention of power and funds has always turned heads at city hall. Federal money was a sweet incentive. The Democratic Party in Chicago is known for buying and selling real estate almost as much as the Catholic Church. And the CD program had all the elements for a "good deal." Daley and Bilandic, and the gentlemen from LaSalle Street began to work on all the possibilities.

Four years and $400 million later, communities are feeling the brunt of the "good deal." The city didn't simply put on a program which failed miserably in providing any answer to Chicago's massive housing problems. Nor did it stop with just re-routing the money into the city's general funds, the pot from which all patronage grows.

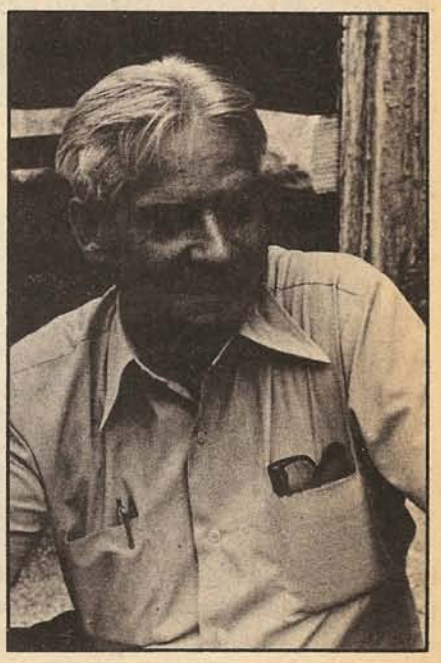
Deputy Mayor Paul McGrath speaking to Helen Shiller at the June 20 Uptown demonstration at city hall.

The city designed a plan which went about destroying communities which were poor or Black or Latino. The plan was carefully phrased in terms like "neighborhood revitalization" and "economic development." And HUD paid the bill year after year.

In CD years III and IV the Cicero-Kinzie neighborhood was targeted for urban renewal and economic development. The community was small, about four city blocks and just over a hundred two-flats and single family homes. Working class, mostly Black, the area woke up every morning in the shadow of the huge Brachs candy complex, its nearest neighbor. It did that is, until the Department of Urban Renewal designated it a "slum" and targeted it for commercial revitalization. Then they demolished 20 percent of the buildings.

ON THE STREET

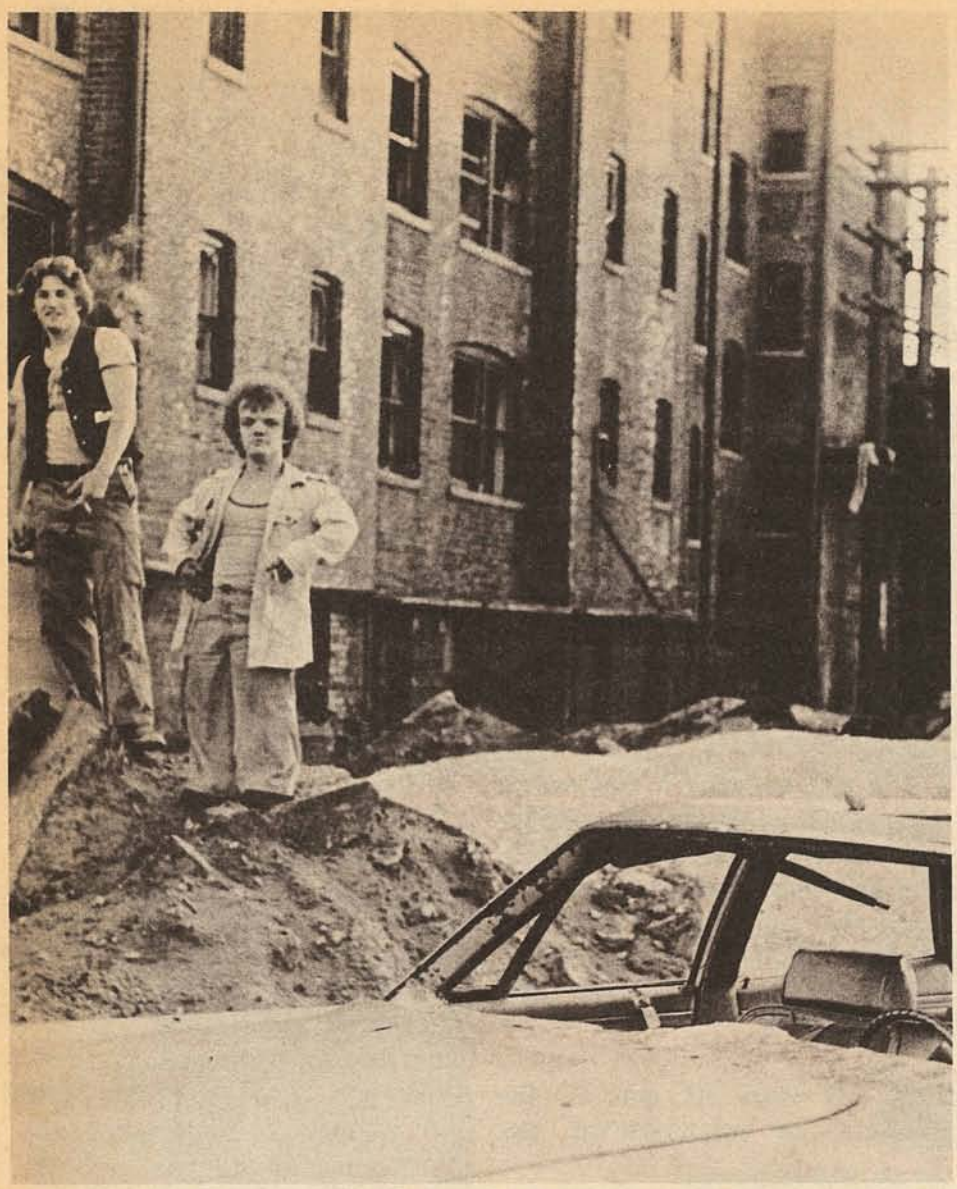
"The city of Chicago has received $500 million since 1975 from the federal government for community development. What improvements have you seen in the old neighborhood?"



Rocco Gandolfo Lifetime resident, 1303 Erie Street

"It's a struggle. This area happens to be in the central area, the Chicago 21 area. I'm dissatisfied.

"My philosophy was that as long as downtown included this area up to Ashland as being in the central area, they are adopting the area. There's no fundraising, no government money; they are furnishing downtown. They decide the development. No matter which administration, whether it's Mayor Byrne or somebody else. They're the ones who will finance it."



Well over 2,500 units of housing have been destroyed in Uptown since the late 1960's. The city has played a direct role in much of this destruction. Residents report that basic services are non-existent and less than two dozen new units have been built.

Since 1975, the Department of Buildings has been able to intensify its code enforcement practices (inspections) with help from tens of millions of extra CD dollars. The stated goal was "to preserve existing housing," but the results were different. In the Heart of Uptown the increased building inspections helped to justify the demolition of 1,500 units of low income housing. Almost 100 percent of the housing destroyed had been occupied by poor people. In the same time, almost two dozen new apartments, available to the same people, were built.

In the first three years of the CD program, the city promised it would provide 2,400 new apartments for low and moderate income families. As of May, 1979 it had provided zero. It also promised to rehab 5,650 apartments for families. Again it rehabbed zero. The city planners did make some progress with new apartments for large families. They originally told HUD that they would build 1,200 new units. By the summer of 1979, 22 were built. They had only failed to meet 98.1 percent of their own goals.

In its own version of "citizen participation," a right guaranteed under the Community Development Act, city hall asked (and received)

Mary Ecks Director, Erie House

"I think it is time for the new administration to make it clear that Westtown has had enough of slaps in their face. I think it has been so clear to me personally, that in the last couple of months of being involved in the struggle of personally being slapped in the face by the city. And I have felt that, very directly, of being lied at in public meetings by city offcials, the neglect, the benign neglect of city officials and it only makes me angrier. If we hadn't struggled it would have meant that approximately 80 of the families would not have day care. That means 80 more families on welfare."

the counsel and advice of a couple dozen citizens and trotted out the program for a public hearing three days before it was to be submitted to the federal government. Complaints from other sources, particularly from the people in the neighborhoods, were ignored. Even complaints from HUD were ignored, forcing the outgoing regional director of HUD to suggest to his superiors that maybe the city needed a "breathing spell from all the federal harassment on regulations."

But HUD had to cover its tracks well. It had financed the destruction of thousands of housing units, the padding of the machine's patronage budget and a variety of economic development deals for friends and family of city hall, all with Community Development Block Grant funds. Any admission of city abuses would also be an admission of HUD failures.

HUD's silence, the city's intention to destroy neighborhoods, and the general market opinion that there is no money in housing for poor people combined to give predictable results. The CD program became just one more effort in a 20 year program of redeveloping some neighborhoods right out of existence.

Down on the street, it didn't take very long for the communities hardest hit to realize they were getting nothing from all this. By 1976-1977 "target" communities were already developing plans of resistance, out of an instinct for survival.

People in the Heart of Uptown had already learned what kind of development they could expect after the Truman College experience. The city's promise of replacement housing for the 1,200 apartments destroyed to make way for Truman was ultimately fulfilled with three 3-flats (nine apartments).

The community began a wide range of activities to slow and stop the destruction. Neighborhood based rehab efforts were begun, and given only token support. Building clubs, block clubs and tenants unions multiplied. In the summer of 1977, the Heart of Uptown Block Club Coalition was formed with the specific goal of guaranteeing community input into any plan for development of the area. The initial supporting petition was signed by over 3,000 neighborhood residents.

To many, the coalition was evidence of a general awareness that stopping the destruction in Uptown was the community's priority.

City neglect — flooding sewers.

It meant more than just identifying what harm had resulted from the city's destructive policies. It meant that the neighborhood itself would have to bear responsibility for planning its own development, and coordinating public and private resources toward that goal.

The coalition set, as its first goal, the preparation of a People's Development Plan as a model of community development in Uptown.

Over the next six months, a series of block club meetings, neighborhood forums and discussions with community organizations laid the basis for an alternative to the city's urban renewal efforts. People identified what they saw as the key

Raul Rodriguez Erie Street

"None at all. They're sticking it in their pocket, that's what they're doing with it. They should build some houses on these empty lots or make little playgrounds for the kids."

The city was forced to admit it had no plan for Uptown.

problems and applied what they had learned about solving them. A series of actions were taken block by block to deal with immediate problems and to demonstrate that resistance was in the heart of the people in Uptown. Every effort to remove people from the community from slumlord, developer, or speculator, was met with an organized response from the community.

Finally in January of 1979, the city's longstanding development plan for Uptown (embodied in its neighborhood strategy area plan for 1979-1981) was countered by the community with a much more detailed strategy to revitalize Uptown — the People's Development Plan and its Neighborhood Development Center program.

Designed through 18 months of community participation, the development program would prevent rather than promote the removal of the existing community. It proposed a range of activities from new housing and rehab (and identified the addresses) to arson prevention and small business development.

The anger and frustration, from years of city indifference, surfaced in a public hearing sponsored by the city at the Pick Congress Hotel in early June. Helen Shiller, spokesperson for the Heart of Uptown, outlined her community's own plan while commissioners and city officials yawned in boredom. They stopped yawning when they were served notices that the city and CD program and HUD had been named in an amendment to the three year old "Avery" suit that alleged a conspiracy between the city and private developers to destroy integrated communities. The now amended suit was asking the federal court to withhold $6 million that had been designated for Uptown in 1979.

The Commissioners and officials sat silently as a spokesperson from Pilsen read a statement denouncing the phoney efforts at community participation and 200 people walked out of the hearing.

Twelve hours later, the Uptown Coalition was notified that its detailed proposal had been rejected by the city, due to a "lack of available funds."

Within 2 weeks 150 Uptown residents were at the door of the Mayor's office demanding a different response. The filing of the suit in federal court and the attention from the demonstration brought the city to the table. The negotiation opened with the Deputy Mayor declaring "our review of the community development program shows no comprehensive plan for Uptown." The money that was designated and therefore not available was really not designated at all. The persistence of the community had forced this frank admission.

In Uptown, spokespersons for the Heart of Uptown Block Club Coalition are far from satisfied, "What we've done so far has proved two things. The first is that an organized community can define its problems exactly. After that we moved step by step to force the Mayor's office and the Planning Department to deal with our program. And the second is that they were lying the whole time. They had no plan at all and hadn't designated one dollar for housing in

Antoinette Furio Resident 32 years, 1308 Ohio

"It's still the same, no change. A lot of fires, that's for sure, especially around Grand Avenue. About a month ago there were a lot of fires; on Grand, on this side, on that corner there was a fire, on Erie Street.

That money should be spent to fix the houses, you know, especially when the people don't own their houses; the landlords live far away – they don't care. My landlady lives upstairs and she takes care of the building good. My mother, too, her landlady lives there. But this building next to mine, it's gone really to the ground. It's so bad, it's terrible."

Uptown. Just the fact that they have re-written their application and re-worked their guidelines in front of us, makes our program possible for the first time. Now the struggle is to make them do what they know they should be doing."

Resistance in Pilsen drew city-wide attention in the fall of 1978 when residents demonstrated downtown, then boycotted a city sponsored hearing on community development at Harrison High School. A community sponsored public hearing on February 11, drew 300 area residents and small businessmen. The hearing produced a number of specific proposals for the community.

The coalition of 22 agencies and organizations brought the community to city hall once again in March to greet incoming Mayor Byrne with their program for Pilsen. In June they organized a massive walkout at the city's final public hearing on Community Development at the Pick Congress.

Representatives of the coalition believe that this continuing mobilization of the community has succeeded in forcing the city to assign staff planners (from the Department of Human Services and Development and Planning) to work with the community.

The Heart of Uptown Block Club Coalition's steering committee meet. The coalition has lead that community in responding to the city's policy of destruction.

"We know that the city's agencies are geared to respond to the interests of the large corporations. But the planners have a role to play in the survival of this neighborhood. When they sent 'experts' to the first meeting, they didn't know anything about Pilsen. We can't let that go on. We are fighting for programs to deal with housing — jobs, social services and the environment (parks, streets, sanitation, etc.,") reported Art Vasquez, an organizer of the Pilsen coalition.

In Westtown, where 42.6 percent of the housing has been destroyed in the last five years, a large part of the community had to fight just to be considered for CD funds. A series of steps, by now familiar to other communities, have brought the Westtown community nose to nose with the city on the issue of use of community development funds. Years of fires and demolitions have brought the multi-racial community, just west of the Loop, together in a grass roots effort to direct the community's anger at the city and force the city to spend the money in the community that has long been withheld. □

John Nitti Store owner, Grand Avenue

"No change at all. I wish they'd start doing something – to renovate the neighborhoods, clean up the neighborhoods. We need a new school – this school got broken windows. We need new lights – lights for the street. You got rats in the alleys. I know what it takes. I am putting in $100 thousand to renovate this building."

THE GREAT GROCERY STORE ROBBERY

THE CONSPIRACY

In February of 1973, Jerome Whiston and his partners found themselves sitting on more than a third of a million dollars in commercial real estate. The four lots that make up the parcel were at the corner of Broadway and Waveland on the city's north side. The neighborhood had deteriorated somewhat since the partnership had bought the land ten years before. Whiston, constantly receiving up to date information on real estate trends in the city, knew the building would not be easy to sell or lease, and understood too well that money has to move in order to make money.

Using his seat on the Board of Directors of Federal Life Insurance Company, Whiston arranged a loan. The partnership would borrow $320 thousand at 14 percent interest from Federal Life and put the building and parking lot up as security. The loan would not be repaid but instead Whiston would set the city up to buy the property from Federal Life. Federal Life would get the building by foreclosing the note and would demand the principal and accumulated interest in the foreclosure. The foreclosure action would be one-sided and the borrower would make no appearance or attempt to respond to the foreclosure.

After it had title to the property, Federal Life would sell it to the city for the amount of its claim, $365 thousand, getting back its original loan plus $45,000 interest.

Five partners in a land trust, a prominent LaSalle Street attorney, a City Councilman, an Illinois State Representative and a suburban life insurance company conspired to swindle the city out of $365 thousand and got away with it.

The year was 1973. The Chicago 21 Plan was out and called for the city to create a Commercial District Development Commission (CDDC) that would buy commercial property for the city.

Whiston had a connection. He was so close to power in Chicago that he could predict within a week when the mayor would bring a CDDC ordinance to the council and when the council would approve it. He could also tell you who would be on the commission.

John Cusack, an old family friend and business acquaintance of Whiston held one of four appointed seats on the Urban Renewal Board. Who was in a better position to buy commercial real estate for the city than the people who had already been buying real estate for years?

On July 27, 1975, Mayor Daley named the five members of the Urban Renewal Board, including John Cusack, to sit on the Commercial District Development Commission.

By January, 1976, Federal Life was in direct control of the property. By August, 1977 the Commercial District Development Commission had approved a plan to buy the real estate from Federal Life.

On September 28, 1977 the city council authorized the plan and the purchase. The payoff now was only 11 months away. The plan passed through the council without any question or comment from the alderman of the ward where the real estate was located — the 46th ward.

On February 2, 1978 the city sued Federal Life for title to the four lots, in a "condemnation suit." Now the payoff was only seven months away. Things were moving quickly and smoothly. But it is always good to have insurance — especially when the premiums are cheap. In this case insurance meant paying off the ward organization. Ralph Axelrod, the ward committeeman knew the city was on the hook. Axelrod has admitted publically since, that he was in the middle of the negotiations.

William Marovitz, a machine state representative tied to the Axelrod organization, had rented the building in 1976 when he was running for re-election. Eight weeks in the building cost Marovitz $2,700. This time his campaign headquarters would be rent free. Axelrod, running for alderman in a special election, would move in for eight weeks after Marovitz. Axelrod would pay no rent as well. The ward organization had a $5,500 undeclared campaign contribution and Federal Life had pocketed two politicians who would keep their mouths shut until the city paid up.

On August 14, 1978 Judge Richard Curry ordered the county treasurer to pay $365,374, money the city had deposited, to Federal Life Insurance Company. The deal was over.

Whiston and his partners had $320 thousand. Federal Life Insurance had $365 thousand and the City of Chicago had an abandoned, boarded up grocery store.

THE CONSPIRATORS

Jerome Whiston

Jerome Whiston is in real estate. President and Chairman of the Board of Whiston & Co., he has the final executive authority over a dozen downtown office buildings, 3 million square feet of prime loop real estate, and millions of dollars in annual rents and management fees. But leasing and management are not Whiston's only entries into real estate. He has a seat on the Board of Directors of Federal Life insurance Co. He had an early investment in the $50 million 30 N. LaSalle Street office building development. Whiston also has had consultant contracts with General Electric Corporation, Standard Oil, John Hancock Insurance Co., the Harris Bank, and the City of Chicago, the latter involving O'Hare Airport.

Whiston didn't put this all together himself. Much of it was handed to him by his father Frank.

THE GREAT GROCERY STORE ROBBERY

Frank Whiston built the Whiston Group and, from 1948 until his death in 1970, he helped build the Democratic Party in Chicago.

The elder Whiston was a public figure, an upfront campaign contributor, a wheeling real estate dealer, a friend and confidant of Mayor Daley and a seven term school board president in behalf of the mayor. It was in that final capacity that Whiston most dutifully served the mayor and is now widely credited with slowing down the desegregation of Chicago schools for twenty years. For these services Whiston was rewarded. In 1963 he was given a long-term, multi-million dollar contract to manage the Civic Center for the Public Buiding Commission, of which the mayor was chairman.

An account from the Chicago Tribune, September 9, 1970, describes the splendor that the organization afforded Frank Whiston upon his death.

> "Frank M. Whiston, longtime president of the Board of Education was buried yesterday in a manner befitting a Chicago civic leader....
>
> "Among the dignitaries attending were Mayor Daley; George Dunne, president of the County Board; Ald. Thomas P. Keane (31st); Police Supt. James B. Conlisk; Fire Commissioner Robert J. Quinn; State's Attorney Edward V. Hanrahan; County Assessor P.J. Cullerton; and George M. Keane, a member of the Court Board of Appeals.
>
> "Others included Chief Judge John S. Boyle of the Circuit Court; Judge Raymond K. Berg of Traffic Court; Cong. Frank Annunzio (D. IL.); Col. Henry Crown; William A. Lee, president of the Chicago Federation of Labor; John E. Desmond, president of the Chicago Principals Club.
>
> "School officials at the mass were led by James F. Redmond, his top staff, and nine of the remaining ten members of the Board of Education....
>
> "Even the city's 550 public schools were closed in his memory.
>
> "More than 300 pupils from St. Ita's School formed an honor guard and sang in the choir...."

Ralph Axelrod

Alderman and ward committeeman of the 46th ward, on the northside of Chicago; elected alderman in a special election May 16, 1978; re-elected in a run off election April 3,1979 (to a four year term). A product and prodigy of the Elrod organization that originated on the city's west side, Axelrod received several thousand dollars in campaign contributions from donors with opens associations with organized crime figures, including Charles Magid, Raymond Baldi and Erwin "Izzy" Horowitz.

A native of Kansas City, Axelrod moved to Chicago in 1942. He immediately hooked into the machine, holding a number of minor patronage jobs. He rose through the sheriff's office and was put in charge of the 350-man Civil Process Unit in 1976. Axelrod learned his ward politics from the Cherry organization of State Senator Robert Cherry in the old 46th ward. The wards were redistricted in 1970. Cherry was named committeeman of the newly formed 46th ward. Axelrod was by his side. In 1972 Cherry was given a judgeship and Axelrod became ward committeeman.

John F. Cusack

A private attorney with offices at 11 S. LaSalle Street, and a graduate of the University of Chicago Law School (1931), Cusack has been a Chairman of the Friends of Chicago Schools Committee; an active member of the Schools Committee of the Southshore Commission; a member of the Urban Renewal Board of the City of Chicago; and a Daley campaign contributor. As a sitting member of the Urban Renewal Board, in 1975 Cusack was automatically named to the Commercial District Development Commission. Cusack, a longtime business and social acquaintance of Frank Whiston, was named Chairman of the Friends of the Chicago Schools Committee in 1965. At that time Whiston described his friend as one who represented "the property minded, stable power structure."

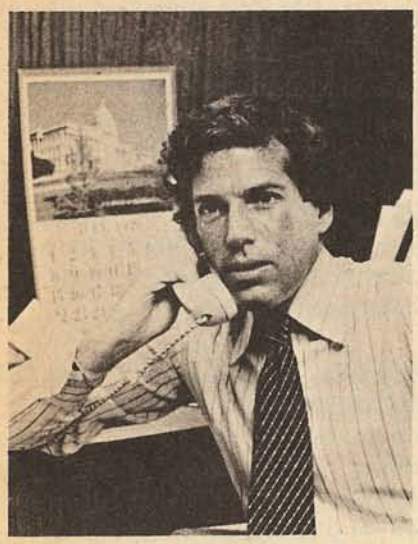
THE CO-CONSPIRATORS

Federal Life Insurance Company Glenview, Illinois

On Dec. 31, 1977, Federal Life's admitted assets were $138 million. They had $767 million in life insurance in force. Real estate and mortgage loans extended in the amount of $25 million. Founded in 1899 in Illinois, the company is now licensed to sell insurance in 39 states. The Board of Directors includes Jerome P. Whiston.

The Broadway Trust

A partnership of five men, Jerome Whiston, F. John Cushing, James R. Gill, David Fallon and one silent partner, formed from 1958 to 1963 while obtaining deeds to 4 lots at Broadway and Waveland (in the city's East Lakeview community). As the deeds were acquired they were placed into trust and the partners became the trustees of the property. Actually they formed the partnership in order to buy, develop and lease the property.



William Marovitz

Three term state legislator from the 12th District in Chicago. Marovitz was re-elected to his third term in 1978. He is considered a rising star of the machine connected Marovitz family and a stalwart of the Axelrod organization. Marovitz received three times as much money from outside his district and outside the city than from his constituents in his last campaign. His uncle, Federal Judge Abraham Lincoln Marovitz, was mentioned in the celebrated Blakey report of the president's Crime Commission on organized crime influence on the federal bench. Marovitz is a close associate of attorney Phillip Krone, notorious for buying out tax delinquent properties from underneath senior citizens.

The City of Chicago

A municipal corporation in the State of Illinois. Incorporated in 1837. Employing 45,000 people to provide services, safety and security to its million residents and taxpayers. A catch all phrase, "economic development" has been used by well connected real estate dealers and corrupt politicians to manipulate the city into giving tax money and bond money away in so-called business deals. Over the years Chicago has been distinguished in having hundreds of its elected and appointed officials sent to jail for fraud, tax evasion, misappropriation of public funds and theft. As the final purchaser of a worthless grocery store on Broadway and Waveland. for which it paid $365 thousand in public funds, the city is the last and most important conspirator in the Great Grocery Store Robbery.

Republic Realty Mortgage Company

A wholly owned subsidary of Continental Bank, Republic ranked as the 100th largest mortgage company in the United States and the third largest in Chicago in 1974. The dollar value of its business was $304 million in 1974, an increase of $60 million over the previous year. A mortgage company finds real estate for investors and vice-versa. Republic acted as an intermediary in the 1973 loan from Federal Life to the Broadway Trust.

American National Bank & Trust Company of Chicago

A wholly owned subsidiary of Walter Heller International Inc., a giant bank holding corporation, American reported total deposits fo $1.5 billion in 1978 and assets just over $2.2 billion. One of the bank's functions is to act as a trust officer for any party needing to conceal their ownership of real estate. American National Bank and Trust was the trustee for Trust #32187 (the Broadway Trust) and was instrumental in concealing the legal identity of Jerome Whiston and his partners when they borrowed $320 thousand from Federal Life Insurance Co. in 1973.

THE GREAT GROCERY STORE ROBBERY

How They

1958-1963

From November 3, 1958 to October 18, 1963: a trust, called the 3646 Broadway Building Trust obtained title to four lots immediately south of the corner of Broadway and Waveland. The men who formed the trust, Jerome Whiston and F. John Cushing became the trustees of the property, with the legal right to develop the land as they saw fit.

September 27, 1963: a large building on the land and the parking lot adjacent to it were leased to National Tea Co. (National Foods) for ten years.

1966

January 29 and August 1, 1966: James R. Gill and David Fallon bought into the trust and were named as successor trustees.

1973

January 31, 1973: National's lease for the Broadway store expired. They were withdrawing from the city and decided to close the Broadway store.

In 1973 the City of Chicago issued the Chicago 21 Plan, calling for the creation of a Commercial District Development Commission, an urban renewal board for commercial areas.The board would be authorized, in general, to purchase property for the city to redevelop.

August 16, 1973: John Cushing sold the deed to the entire four lots to Margaret E. Code for $1. Margaret Code, in turn, placed the deed into a trust with the American National Bank and Trust, Trust #32187.

August 27, 1973: The officers of American National Bank and Trust, on behalf of Trust #32187, obtained a trust deed at Chicago Title and Trust Co., making Chicago Title and Trust the trustees of the trust deed. As holders of the trust deed Chicago Title and Trust secured a loan made by Federal Life Insurance Co. to Bank Trust #32187 for $320 thousand. The loan was made on August 27, 1973.

In exchange for the $320 thousand loan, the Bank Trust holding the property issued an installment note promising to pay the money back by 1984. The terms of the note were very high.

". . . .commencing on the first day of October 1974, interest at the rate of 12 percent per annum, payable in installments of principal and interest in the amount of four thousand five hundred ninety two dollars ($4,592) on the first day of October 1974 and four thousand five hundred ninety two dollars ($4,592) on the first day of each and every month thereafter up to and including the first day of August 1984, and a final installment of principal and interest, if not sooner paid, shall be due on the first day of September 1984. . . ."

The terms of the loan amounted to almost 14.5 percent interest or repayment of almost $600 thousand over 10 years.

Apparently no one asked why a large amount of money was being borrowed on an abandoned storefront or how or if the borrowers were going to pay it back.

1975

March 24, 1975: Federal Life Insurance Co. purchased the installment note on the $320 thousand loan from Republic Realty Mortgage Co. for $1. Republic had acted as an intermediary in the 1973 loan between Federal Life and Trust #32187.

May 8, 1975: in a move that had been expected for many months (and announced by Mayor Daley seven months earlier) the city council passed a resolution establishing the Commercial District Development Commission. That same day Federal Life Insurance Co. filed its "Complaint in Chancery to Foreclose a Mortgage," declaring "default had been made in the installments of principal and interest due and payable April 1, 1975 and May 1, 1975 and there remains unpaid on said promissory note and Trust Deed the principal sum of three hundred twenty thousand dollars ($320,000) with interest at 14 percent from April 1, 1975. . .which premises are now vacant, boarded and without the benefit of watch or security services. . .the premises in such condition, may become vandalized and fall into a state of disrepair, greatly diminishing the value of the security."

July 27, 1975: Mayor Daley announced his recommendation for the members of the Commercial District Development Commission.The mayor sent the names of the city's Urban Renewal Board members to the city council for approval as the new Commercial District Development Commission.

Among those named by the mayor to the new commission was John F. Cusack.

Pulled It Off

September 22, 1975: Judge Samuel B. Epstein granted Federal Life a "Decree of Foreclosure and Sale," ordering the sheriff to sell the property in a public auction. The money from the sale of the building was ordered paid to Federal Life on its claim. If Federal Life decided to bid in the auction, they could purchase the real estate for the amount of their claim – $365 thousand.

December 17, 1975: three weeks before the sheriff's auction, Federal Life appealed the tax assessment on the four lots and requested a 20 percent reduction. It is not clear why they were trying to lower the taxes on a piece of land they didn't own. One can only speculate that they would get the building at the auction.

1976

January 6, 1976: an auction was conducted in the office of the Sheriff of Cook County at the Civic Center. Federal Life Insurance Co. bid $364,979.79 and purchased the abandoned grocery store and parking lot. On January 16, 1976 Judge Epstein signed an order confirming the sheriff's sale and transfer of title to Federal Life Insurance Co.

January 21, 1976: State Representative William Marovitz, from the city's north side 12th district, paid $900 for headquarter's rent and window bond to Ronald March of Draper and Kramer (a loop real estate company) but acting as agent for the 3646 N. Broadway Building Partnership. From March 2 to April 16 Marovitz paid March an additional $1,900 for the use of the Broadway building. Marovitz easily won the primary election that March and moved shortly after that.

1977

In June 1977 the Commercial District Development Commission received a "Report on the Designation of Blighted Commercial Area Broadway-Addison." In late August the Commission approved a "Redevelopment Plan for Broadway-Addison." With the approval of the plan came an O.K. to turn over $365 thousand to Federal Life Insurance Co. for the Broadway property. When Mr. Cusack was asked if he was aware that Jerome Whiston had a recent interest in the property and would benefit greatly from its sale to the city, he replied that he did not know Mr. Whiston.

By September 28, 1977 the Broadway-Addison Redevelopment Plan had passed through the Chicago Plan Commission and was on the agenda of the City Council. The council approved the plan and gave its final O.K. for the city to purchase the four lots from Federal Life Insurance Co. The ordinance itself contained no figure of how much money would be spent and to this day you can bet not one alderman who voted that day could tell you what the city bought or for how much it paid.

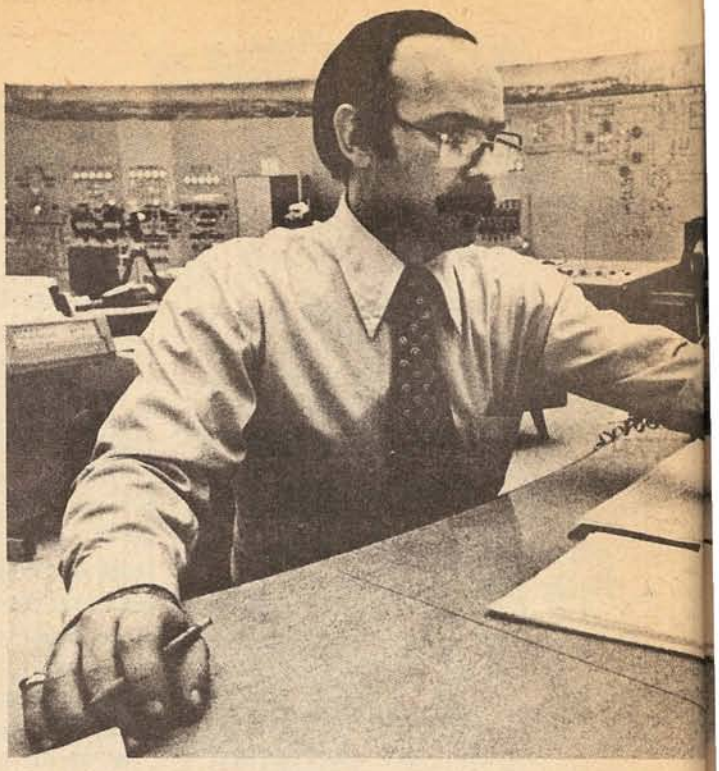
1978

The city council's vote authorized the corporation counsel, acting on behalf of the CDDC and the Department of Planning and Development, to bring a condemnation suit, if necessary, which would force the landlord to sell the property to the city.

February 2, 1978: the city filed suit in circuit court to acquire the property. Two years had passed and State Rep. Marovitz was running for office again. He moved his campaign operation back into the abandoned grocery store. But this time he didn't have to pay any rent. In April, Ralph Axelrod, Democratic committeeman of the 46th ward, moved into the grocery store to run his campaign in the special aldermanic election on May 16 (the previous alderman had left office several months before and a federal judge had ordered the special election). Axelrod used the building for almost seven weeks but didn't pay any rent either.

May 11, 1978: (five days before Axelrod's election) Judge Richard Curry granted the city a judgement order, ordering the city to pay $365 thousand to the county treasurer "for the benefit of the owner or owners of and party or parties interested in said property (3646 N. Broadway)" and empowering the city to "take immediate possession of said real property so paid for."

August 14, 1978: the matter came before Judge Curry one last time. Responding to a petition from Federal Life Insurance Co., he ordered the county treasurer to pay Federal Life "the sum of $365,374 with regard to the property commonly known as parcel 1-1, Broadway-Addison Project, and bearing a common address of 3646 N. Broadway.□



The Power Company

In 1979 Commonwealth Edison will borrow as much as the City of Chicago will spend. The cost of paying this loan back will show up on your electric bill – You can bet you'll feel it.

A Special Report by the KEEP STRONG Energy Research Unit

Probably nothing is better hidden by the constant chatter about inflation and recession than the incredible 10-year growth of utility companies into super-corporations.

Operating as monopolies which extend their giant tentacles across the nation's largest metropolitan areas, the utilities have used long term fuel purchasing agreements and seats on their directorates – to give another leg to the billion dollar

Since 1973 customers are using 7 percent more electricity but paying 72 percent more for it.

energy empire dominated by the oil companies.

In May of this year, Merrill, Lynch, Pierce, Fenner and Smith (America's largest security house) reported, "Energy stocks have been superior market performers since oil prices began to climb sharply and conditions in the Middle East began to deteriorate last fall....Between the first of November and early May, the energy group appreciated by almost 18 percent compared with a rise of less than 3 percent for the market as a whole.... The combination of growing demand and rising prices in the face of limited supplies augurs well for energy operations [looks good for future profits]....Energy resources owned, discovered or developed by American companies can only increase in value in years to come...."

Chicago's Commonwealth Edison certainly offers the best look at the utility industry as a giant out of control.

With less than a 6 percent increase in the total number of customers served and a 12 percent increase in the total number of Kilowatt hours sold, Edison has increased the value of its plant and equipment 78 percent since 1973. The annual construction budget has jumped 186 percent to a whopping $1.3 billion in 1978.

The company's net income (cash on hand after expenses are paid) has doubled in the last 5 years from $158 billion to $321 billion in 1978. While company officials generally explain this by saying that customers are using more and more electricity, Edison's own report shows that people are using 7 percent more electricity in 1978 than they were in 1973, but they are paying 72 percent more for it. Although sales to customers remain the chief tool the power company uses to raise money (or as Merrill, Lynch politely puts it, "Finally energy supplies are essential...") that money plays a decreasing role in the company's annual construction (expansion) budget. Edison raises three times as much money every year from loans and tax deductions as it gets from profits in sales to customers.

In 1968, Edison withheld $18.3 million in taxes, using legal tax credit loopholes. By 1973 they were withholding $78.4 million and by 1978 the amount had soared to $118.3 million (an increase of 545 percent in ten years). But even the tax credits are peanuts in comparison to money made through the scheme called "Depreciation and Amortization," a complicated set of rules and formulas which allows a corporation to deduct costs and losses in future years from their taxes. This program was worth just under $310 million to Commonwealth Edison last year.

At the bottom of all this high finance is the average residential customer – you and me. In the

From 1973 to 1978 there was a 6 percent increase in customers, a 12 percent increase in total electricity, matched by a 186 percent increase in the construction budget.

The Power Company

One third of Commonwealth Edison's $1.7 billion debt is owed to just thirty insurance companies.

eyes of the power company we make up sort of a "trapped audience." Common sense says when you have no bargaining position you pay the "going rate." The "going rate" for you and me has increased from $2.56 per KWH (one hour of electricity) in 1968 to $4.63 in 1978. Only if your take-home pay or assistance increased 80 percent in the last ten years would you be making money fast enough to keep up.

The increasing cost to customers could be justified by the growing expenses in running an operation that has tripled in size in the past ten years. But the facts show the customers are paying greater and greater amounts of money each year to private investors who control and use Commonwealth Edison for a money machine.

The buying and selling of money is called finance in corporate banking circles. Of the $6.6 billion that Edison owed to lenders in 1978, $3.4 billion was in the form of bonds and debentures called "long term debt."

Between 1945 and 1960 the utility company borrowed $330 million at 3.5 percent interest. In the next 15 years, from 1960 to 1975 they borrowed three times that much, over a billion dollars, at a higher than average interest rate — 6.7 percent. In the next four years, since 1975, Edison has already borrowed $1.3 billion. They borrowed slightly less money in the last four years than they did in the previous twenty.

Commonwealth Edison borrows more because it builds more. And it borrows cash because you can't build on your good name. There are only two legitimate sources of cash in this country — the banks and the insurance companies. The banks don't have to report how much money they loan to utilities but the insurance companies do. Because of this KEEP STRONG was able to look at the insurance companies at the other end of Commonwealth Edison's increasing debt.

Five insurance companies — Aetna, Mutual of New York, Metropolitan Life, Mutual Beneficial and Mutual Life of New York own one-third of the $530 million in notes called "SFD" (sinking fund debentures) that were identified. Just 40 insurance companies owned over half of all these notes.

In all, KEEP STRONG looked at $1.66 billion in long term loans that the power company had out. One-third of this money was owed to just 30 insurance companies and 15 percent to just six companies.

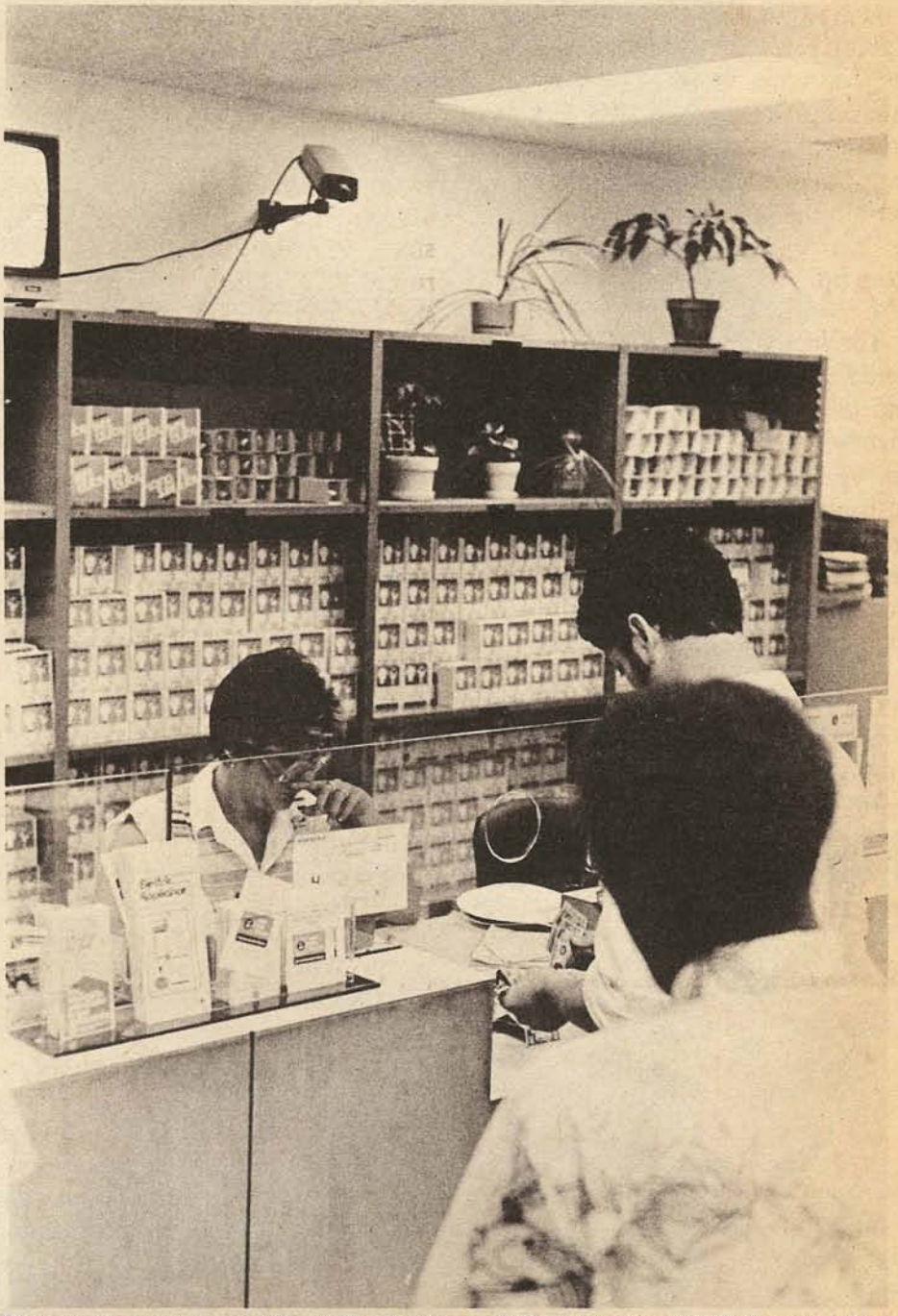
On August 1, 1976, the company issued $300 million in notes at nine and one-fourth percent interest and payable on August 1, 1996, when they will be worth between $850 million and $950 million. One-fourth of these notes are held by Metropolitan Life Insurance Company of New York. Almost one-half of the notes are held by five insurance companies.

In 1978, residential customers paid $4.63 for an hour of electricity that cost $2.56 ten years ago, while Edison saved $427 million in tax deductions.

One half of the $300 million in bonds Com Ed issued August, 1976 are owned by five insurance companies. They get back $2.80 for every dollar they put up – and you pay the difference.

But borrowing means paying back – more often borrowing means paying more. While the amount of money Edison pays in taxes has increased only $112 million in the last ten years, its annual payment of interest on loans has swelled over 50 percent in the same period. In 1979 they paid out $220 million to their creditors up from $115 million in 1973 and $65 million in 1968. And this is where the buck stops. For those of you who were paying $2.56 for an hour of electricity in 1968 and are now paying $4.63 so that the cash merchants who were collecting $65 million can now collect $220 million, this just might be the strongest argument for taking the "business" out of the utility business.

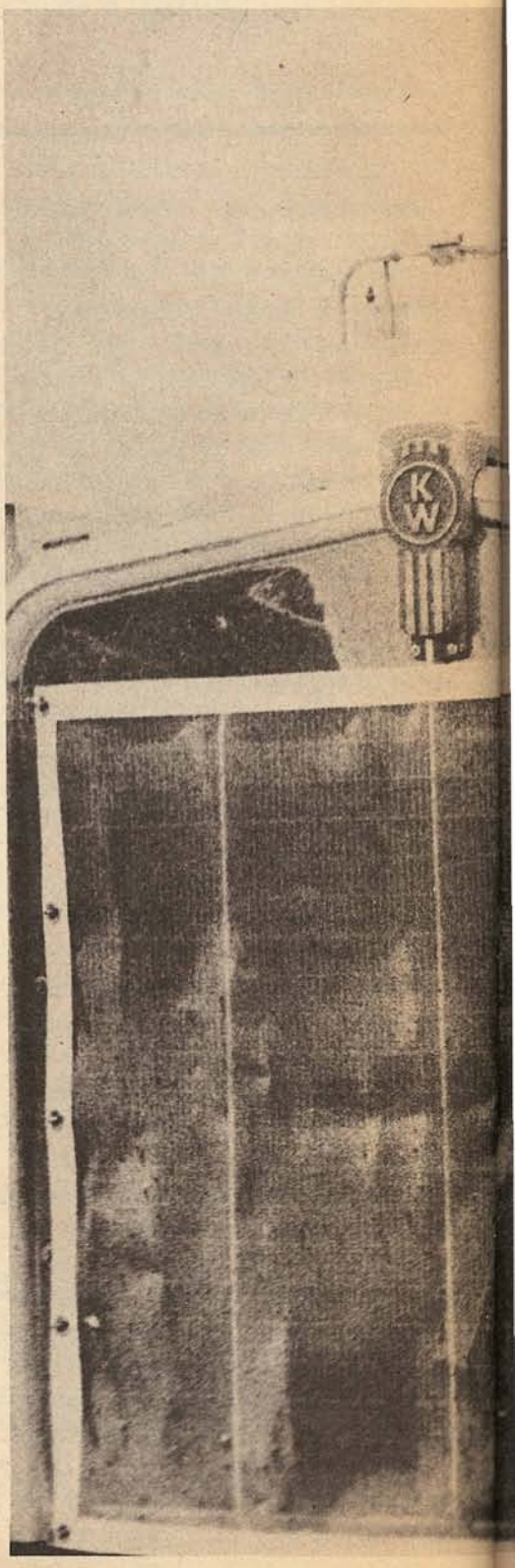
There can be little wonder why chairmen of two of the largest manufacturing corporations in the world – International Harvester (28th) and Zenith Radio Corporation (259th), the president of the largest retail corporation, Sears, Roebuck, and the chairman of the executive committee of the Northern Trust (4th in Chicago, 35th in the world), all sit on the all-important audit committee of the board of directors of the power company to review the quarterly profits and decent return on their money. They have to know if the company is making enough to pay back its debts. □



The average customer is at the bottom of Commonwealth Edison's billion dollar financial dealings.

18 Wheels And

Rising costs, government regulations and domination by large trucking companies, is forcing many independent truckers down the road to bankruptcy.



Jake Sensor figures if he's going to be run out of the business, he'll go down fighting. The 33 year old Sensor has been an independent trucker for nearly 10 years and his father was a trucker before him.

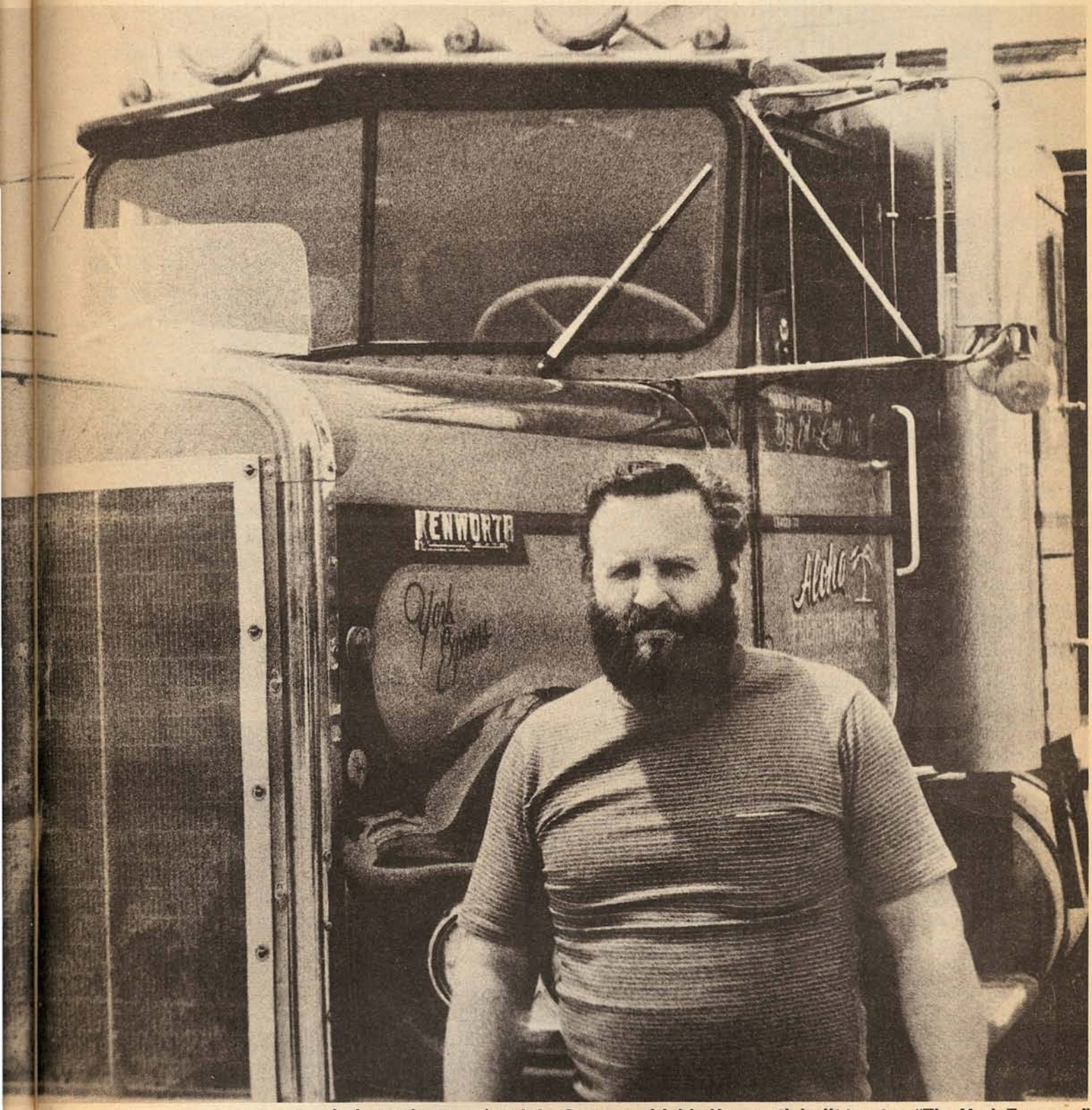
Sensor, who lives in Marengo, Illinois with his wife and three children, guesses trucking is just something that gets in your blood. But he considers himself a businessman first, a trucker second. He says many owner-operators like himself have slowly watched their businesses strangled by rising costs, government regulations and near monopoly control of the trucking industry by large trucking firms. While "Breaker, breaker, good buddy" might be the popular image of truckers on the road, the truckers themselves say trying to break even is the real story.

In early June, Sensor did what economically hurts a trucker the hardest – he parked his rig in a rented garage across town and stopped rolling. So did an estimated 85 percent to 90 percent of the nation's 120,000 truckers who own their own rigs, in a national strike to dramatize their plight. The shutdown became more effective when truckers blockaded highways, produce terminals, fuel depots and ringed state capitols. Violence erupted, windshields were smashed, tires slashed, rigs burned and sporadic outbursts of sniping – one of them fatal – forced several states to call out the National Guard. Dwindling supplies prompted factory layoffs and closings and farmers dumped or plowed under millions of dollars of fresh fruits and vegetables.

The immediate cause of the shutdown came from the mushrooming price of the diesel fuel, which has nearly doubled since the first of the year. "Where I buy, it went up from 70 cents a gallon to 96 cents a gallon in two weeks time," notes Sensor, who currently spends 26 percent of his gross income on fuel. High fuel prices were also hitting the general public and much of the nation sympathized with the truckers, happy that someone was making noise about the leaping prices.

Even before the current fuel crunch, rising operating costs have

Going Broke



Independent trucker Jake Sensor, with his Kenworth built tractor, "The York Express."

"Most of these guys have their backs against a wall. They're watching their livelihood go down the drain."

cut deeply into owner-operators' profits and forced many independents into bankruptcy. In the past five years the number of independents has dropped to 15 percent and truck dealerships report repossessions are up greatly this year. Sensor, who works for Aloha Freightways in Bensenville, confirmed the drop, "My company is just dying for trucks. They've asked me a few times where they could get owner-operators."

Rising costs forced Sensor two years ago, to change from long distance hauling (over-the-road) to "short haul", trips that seldom go more than 150 miles from his home. That change, he says, meant a drop from 90,000 to 60,000 miles driven a year; he used one-third less fuel and saved a few thousand dollars. Tires, a major expense, last longer and insurance costs are less. But cost cutting measures didn't stop inflation and everything down to a truck-stop hamburger cost more. "I work an average of 14 hours a day, 5 days a week and another 5-10 hours on Saturday maintaining the truck. I should be making a good living. Last year I grossed over $54,000. After paying my operating expenses I had $13,000 left. I do all the maintenance on my truck and it's lasted 9½ years, longer than most guys," Sensor says. But he's worried about the cost of a new truck. His Kenworth-built tractor in 1970 cost $25,000, a similar model today would run $59,000.

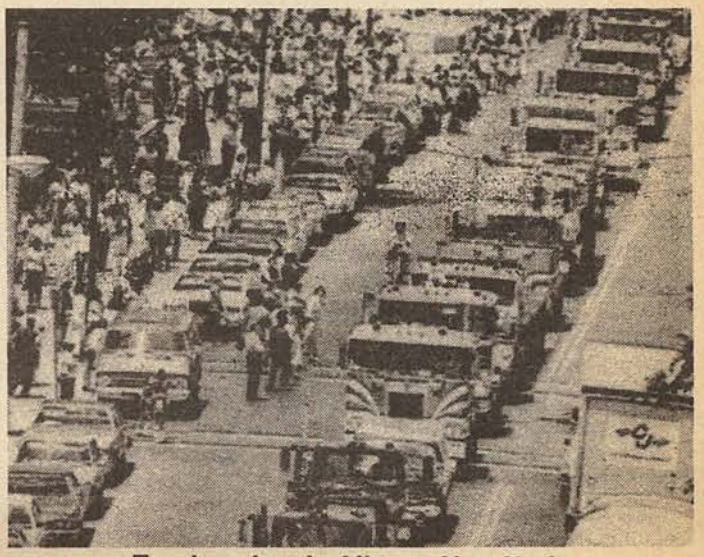
Sensor is vice-president of the Illinois chapter of the Independent Truckers Association (ITA), the Los Angeles based group that called for the shutdown. The ITA is the single largest independent trucker group, representing 30,000 members. Owner-operators carry one-half the nation's cargo, including 80 percent of all food shipped.

"Most of these guys have their back against a wall. They're watching their livelihood go down the drain, slow but sure going broke," explains Sensor. He described the four key demands the ITA has.

The first demand calls for full fuel allocation. Earlier this year, when shortages of diesel fuel developed, President Carter enacted Special Rule 9, which gives farmers first crack at fuel for spring planting. Truckers, afraid they would be caught mid-route with no fuel and cargos rotting, asked for top priority. The truckers though, are not interested in a battle at the pumps with farmers. They blasted the oil companies, accusing them of jacking up the public and criticized Department of Energy policies on fuel allocations.

Second, equal weight across the United States. Responding to pressure from independents and the trucking industry, Congress in 1974 raised the gross weight limit on the nation's highways to 80,000 pounds. The law was not mandatory and ten states, primarily in the midwest, including Illinois, remained at the old limit of 73,280 pounds, forming a bloc in many of the most traveled corridors. Because of this, the truckers complain, a driver must choose between losing revenue by taking less weight or illegally running back roads to avoid weigh stations. This wastes fuel and time and chances stiff fines if caught.

The ITA contends a uniform 80,000 pound limit would save fuel by eliminating one in every seven



Truckers jam in Albany, New York.

A majority of independent truckers have no say about the shipping rates charged.

trucks on the road. Other figures estimate it would save 25 million gallons of fuel a month. Illinois' Governor Thompson has refused to raise the limit claiming road deterioration will increase. Truckers say the roads are already "shot to hell" because the state has used road funds for other purposes.

"The third point," explains Sensor, "we want a national 65 mph speed limit. The biggest gripe there for us is 55 mph cuts into our production. You take a load coming from California to Chicago, you're talking 2,000 miles. That adds 6 hours driving time plus another 8 hour layover or 14 hours to that trip. It's like cutting your wages. They are cutting down the amount you can do in a certain period of time."

In the fourth demand, the ITA wants the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) to remove many of its regulations the independents say hurt owner-operators and protect large companies. The ITA has asked for a 90-day period in which the government would develop a plan for deregulation. "We want some type of deregulation, to give us the equality we need with the big carriers so we can bargain for our own livelihood," states Sensor.

Congress put trucking companies under ICC control in 1935, leaving only the transport of fresh produce exempt from ICC regulation. (Congress feared regulation would delay the delivery of perishable produce.) The proper purpose of government regulation is to protect the public. But critics believe ICC regulations have served to protect carriers from competition and led to a domination of the industry by large trucking companies. According to data recently released by Senator Edward Kennedy, the biggest four general-freight companies had an average of 63 percent of the business on routes in 350 different markets across the country in 1976.

The price of diesel fuel has nearly doubled since the beginning of the year.

Under existing law, a trucking company must have ICC approval, commonly called "authority," specifies exactly which commodities the company can transport and what routes it must use. Some independent truckers haul the exempt produce, but since only big trucking companies control well-rounded route authorities, almost 90 percent of independent truckers must lease their rig and services to a company that has ICC authority. Drivers who lease out receive from 85 percent to 60 percent of the rates charged the shipper, with the balance going to the trucking company for arranging the trip.

The problem for independent truckers is they have no control over the rates charged and cannot raise them to meet higher fuel costs. Rates are approved by the ICC, but are actually set by groups of trucking companies organized into "rate bureaus." The Chicago-Suburban Motors Carriers Association, a local rate bureau, files rates for 50 member carriers with the ICC. This collective rate-making is essentially price-fixing, but has been exempt under government anti-trust laws since 1948.

"That's our big beef," Sensor says. "We buy the trucks, we take care of all the maintenance, we absorb the biggest costs of operating the trucks, yet we don't have

any say in the rates. Some companies don't own any trucks whatsoever, all they have is that piece of paper, the authority. How does it affect them when fuel costs go up?" Large companies are less affected by higher fuel costs because they spend a smaller percentage of their gross income on fuel and, therefore, they are slow to raise rates, he pointed out.

Truckers also complain that ICC rules often force them to "backhaul" (return trip) with an empty truck. The ICC estimates that more than 20 percent of all truck miles are driven empty because of regulatory restrictions.

Sensor says his group wants owner-operators free to haul any commodity, anywhere. Truckers should be able to arrange their own loads, eliminating the trucking company as middleman and giving drivers the full revenue.

Faced with widespread economic turmoil the White House moved to appease the angry truckers. The Carter administration suspended Special Rule 9, pledged fuel supplies will be fairly allocated and would support legislation making the 80,000 pound gross weight limit mandatory in all states. The ICC authorized a 6 percent surcharge on shipping charges to help owner-operators offset higher fuel costs. The truckers, however, say 6 percent is not nearly enough to cover the rising prices. The White House refused to support the 65 mph speed limit.

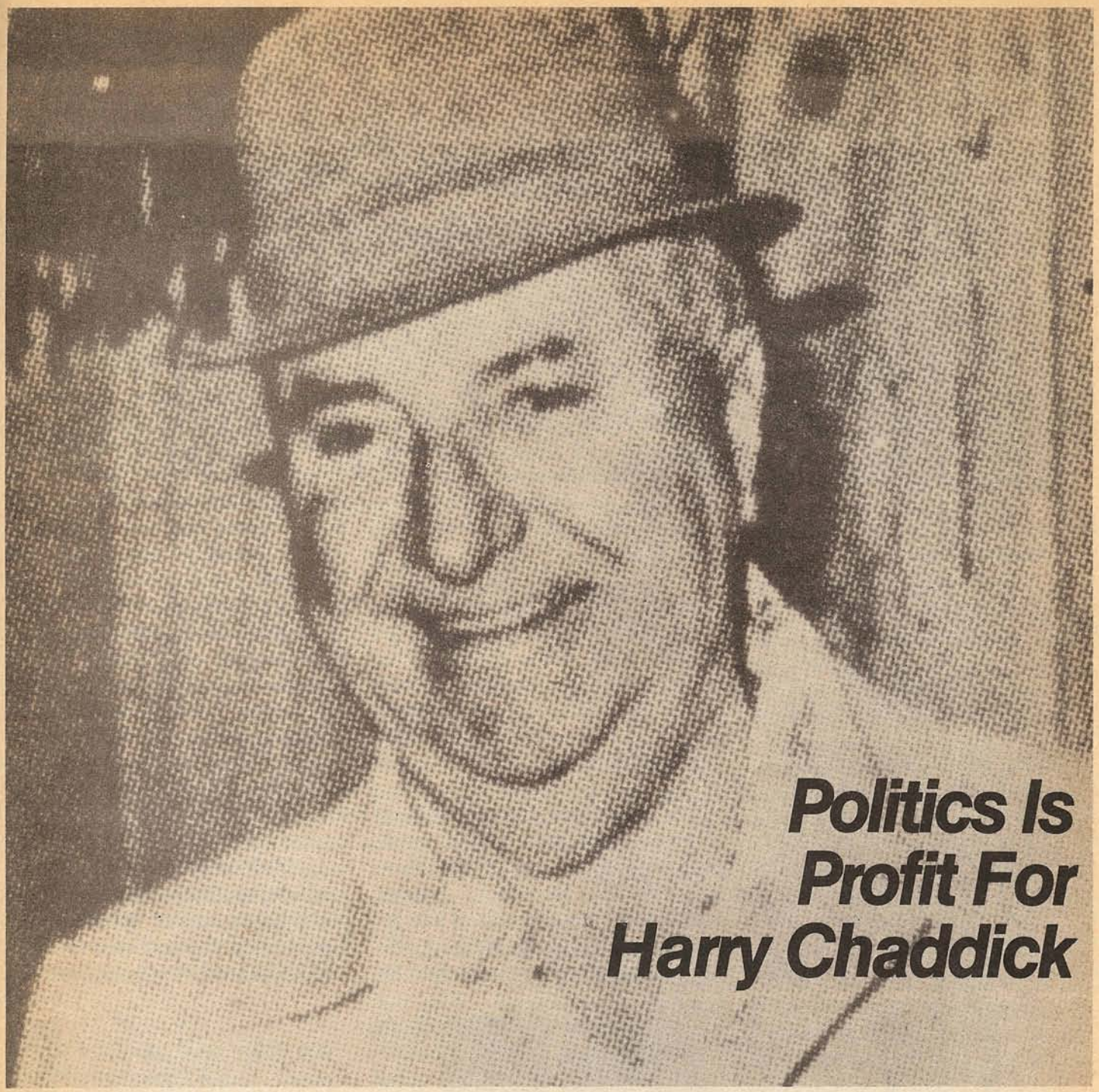
President Carter also sent a bill to Congress (he promised two years before) that would deregulate the trucking industry. The bill has strong support from Senator Kennedy but faces stiff opposition from the powerful lobbies of the American Trucking Association and the Teamsters Union.

The ATA, which represents 16,874 trucking firms, is working hard on Capitol Hill to defeat the measure. Teamster President, Frank Fitzsimmons, said the strike by independents was an example of the kind of turmoil deregulation would bring. *The Wall Street Journal* reports that last year industry and Teamsters political action groups gave more than $435,000 to congressional candidates. And they're calling in the favors.

Independent truckers are also worried about Carter's bill. The White House proposal, besides ending cargo and route restrictions, would allow rates to be lowered 20 percent without ICC approval. Independents are worried about being undercut at a time when they can least afford to cut their own rates. Many owner-operators are not too convinced that Carter or Kennedy are on their side. Some political analysts say Kennedy's strong support stems from the hope deregulation will weaken the Teamsters. In years past, there's been no love lost between the Kennedy clan and the Teamsters.

Sensor says many truckers will fight to the bitter end to remain independent. He believes drivers will band together more in the future. "We've been battling with them for five years to get them to get off their duff. We don't like to take this type of action. It's not the truckers' intent to put hurt on people but they've got no way to go." Sounds like a good chance they'll be back. □

Striking trucker busted in Chelsea, Massachusetts during blockade of produce center. The truckers vow to return if their grievances aren't met.



Politics Is Profit For Harry Chaddick

Business as usual in Chicago — A profile in real estate clout

The movement of industry and industrial jobs from the city (and metropolitan area) is a problem that has plagued Chicago for at least the last dozen years.

Between 1970 and 1976 alone, almost 100,000 jobs were lost from the Chicago metropolitan area, many of those in the city.

In 1976, Mayor Daley announced the formation of the Economic Development Commission (EDC), a prestigious body, organized, supposedly, to promote economic growth and jobs in the city.

The commission has since evolved to represent the key economic interests in the city. Attending its meetings are Thomas Ayers, Commonwealth Edison; A. Robert Abboud, First National Bank of Chicago (First Chicago Corp.); Edward Donnell, Montgomery Ward & Company (a subsidiary of Mobil Oil Co.); John D. Gray, Hart, Schaffner and Marx; Phillip Klutznick, Klutznick Investment (developer of the $100

Chaddick and the EDC — Who's helping who?

million Water Place Tower); Charles Marshall, Illinois Bell Telephone; John Perkins, Continental Bank; Arthur Rubloff; A. Dean Swift, Sears, Roebuck & Company; among others.

The commission and the huge bureaucracy it directs promises assistance to employers in acquiring and developing land, solving pollution control problems, financing and providing tax incentives.

But while its record in attracting and keeping industry has been less than shining, many critics see this as an indication of their real intention to transform the city into a White, middle class metropolis.

CHADDICK VS. THE NEIGHBORHOODS

Shortly after it came into being, the commission was faced with its first big test. Victor Comptometer, an adding machine and calculator manufacturer, announced a plan to move its factory from Rockwell and Irving Park in West Lakeview to El Paso, Texas. The company kept its sales and administrative offices there (employing about 700 people) but 400 people lost their jobs when Victor moved in 1977.

Recently Victor President, James Sheridan, commented that he didn't remember the Economic Development Commission's interest or incentives to stay being "that great."

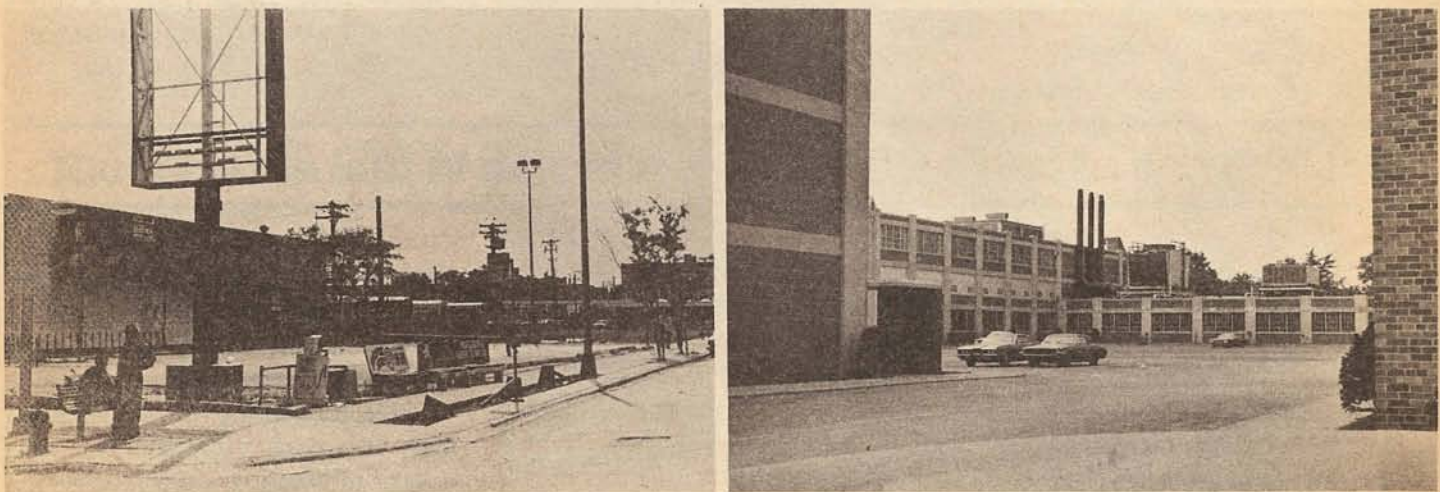
In the last three months a controversy that has developed over the placement of a shopping center in Albany Park offers an explanation of why the EDC's interest in keeping Victor in the city was not "that great."

Harry Chaddick has been the co-chairman of the EDC since its formation. And Harry Chaddick is about to build a shopping center where Victor is located. As recently as Friday, July 13, Chaddick was set to purchase the 22 acre site.

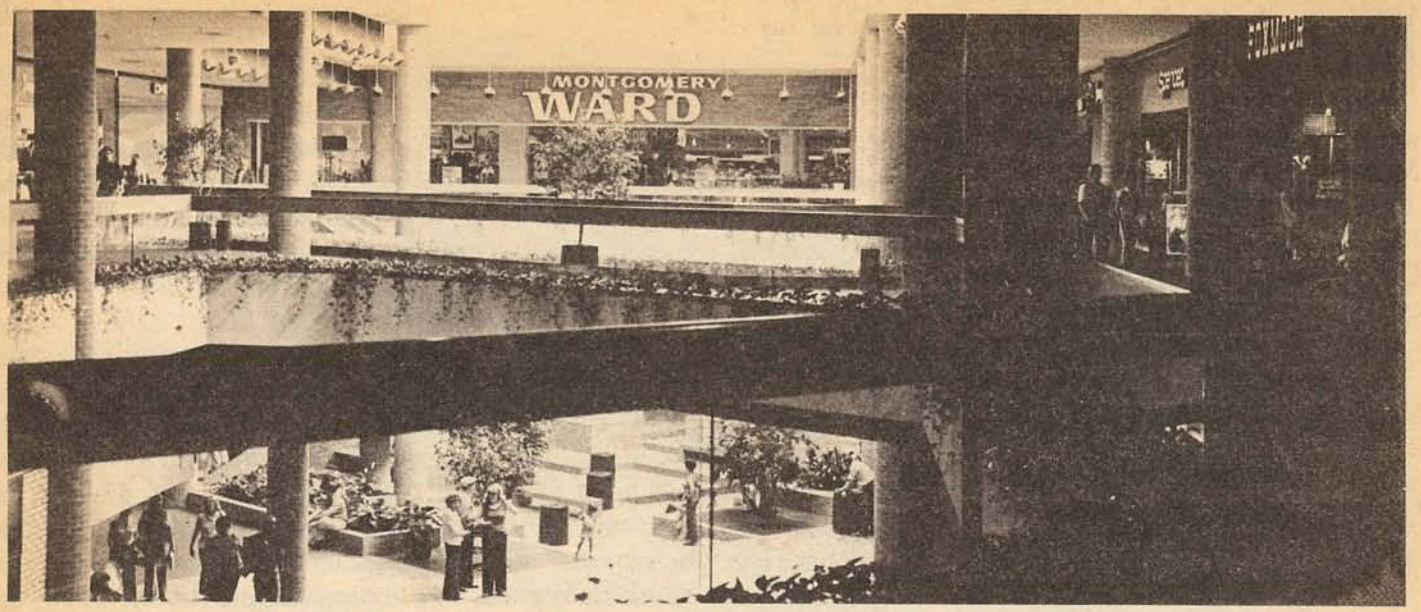
The recent announcement of the shopping center plan brought quick opposition from many local businessmen and community groups who fear the development of a large shopping center at the location will draw shoppers away from the 14 neighborhood shopping strips within a three mile radius.

Particularly upset was a group in Albany Park, who for the past year and a half, have been working with Chaddick to develop a much smaller shopping center over the CTA Ravenswood train yards at Lawrence and Kimball. Joel Bookman, executive director of the Lawrence Avenue Development Corporation (LADCOR) said his organization was working on a plan for a 10 store center that would complement and revitalize the Lawrence Avenue business strip. "We feel the preserving of neighborhood business strips is important to preserving and revitalizing nearby residential areas," explains Bookman.

LADCOR believes the Irving and Rockwell site will harm neighborhood strips similar to the effect the newly opened Brick Yard Shopping Center at Diversey and Narragansett has had on the Belmont and Central shopping strip. "Before the Brick Yard opened there were no vacancies," says Bookman, "Now there are 13 vacancies and four other stores are planning to move. Belmont and Central was hurt tremendously." LADCOR publicly urged that "the



The Albany Park group had been working with Chaddick for a year and a half to develop the small shopping center at Lawrence and Kimball (left). Chaddick scrapped the plan in a surprise move when he announced a proposal to build on land owned by Victor Comptometer at Irving and Rockwell (right).



The "Brickyards" Shopping Center at Diversey and Narragansett drew almost 20 businesses from the Belmont-Central shopping area.

vast public and private resources which must be committed to a large regional shopping center should be directed toward those of us who are striving to preserve and revitalize our existing shopping areas and communities, rather than going toward large shopping center developments which would destroy those efforts."

Bookman thinks Chaddick prefers the Irving and Rockwell location because "it's a quicker deal for him. All he has to do is get some zoning changes and he can make his money."

Chaddick had told LADCOR that Montgomery Ward, under pressure to expand, wanted to build a store on the. northside, and was interested in the Lawrence and Kimball location. It took several months to work out the details of the proposal and it looked like the plan would be finalized at a meeting June 5 with officials from the CTA, city planners, Chaddick and Mayor Byrne. However, the meeting was cancelled that morning by Chaddick without explanation. Bookman accused Chaddick of "directing Montgomery Ward's attention to the Irving and Rockwell site."

HARRY CHADDICK THE DEALMAKER

Although Harry Chaddick is not exactly a household word in Chicago maybe it should be. Chaddick is one of the deal makers, the privileged circle of men who shape Chicago and other cities in their own interests. At the age of 75 Chaddick is still dealing and shaping.

Chaddick is president and founder of Harry F. Chaddick Associates, Consultants; Chicago Industrial District; Carnegie Construction and Development; First National Realty Company; The Tennis Club in Palm Springs; Andreas Hills in Palm Springs; and the South Pulaski Corporation in Chicago. But this is just part of the Chaddick empire and influence. He has been chairman of the Chicago Zoning Board of Appeals, head of the Mayor's Commission on Rent Control, chairman of the Mayor's Committee on In-City Shopping Centers and director of rezoning for Cook County.

Chaddick's rise to power, wealth and influence is a classic study in the mixing of real estate and politics in Chicago. One of nine children of an immigrant Scott-Irish father and an immigrant French-Canadian mother, Chaddick was born near Ashland and Taylor in 1904. Not enthusiastic about school Chaddick dropped out when he was 14 and got a job as a drug store errand boy. But the drugstore business wasn't what the young man wanted and in the 1920's Chaddick took a truck, a wagon and his horse and started a trucking business. Making friends and contacts along the way and working from sunrise to sunset, Chaddick turned his fledgling company into a major cartage business. By 1949 he had a fleet of over 400 trucks.

Satisfied that he had made a good life for himself, Chaddick sold the company, invested in some real estate and planned to live a life of semi-retirement. But Chaddick was destined to play a much larger role in real estate than he ever dreamed of in trucking. He became embroiled over a zoning ordinance concerning the placement of trucking terminals. He realized quickly that real estate was a business that allowed him both time to relax and make millions.

Chaddick — "I made a lot of money."

Winning the battle over the trucking ordinance, Chaddick went on to rewrite both the city and county zoning ordinances, a position extremely important to real estate interests. He allied himself with the Democratic machine and corporate powers of the city, and became a financial middle man for large corporate real estate investment as well as a source of investment for machine politicians, who were by now making big money from a number of sources.

He made friends with many reporters including Jay McMullen. McMullen and Chaddick met while McMullen was a reporter covering city hall for the *Daily News*. After the *News* went out of business, McMullen began covering real estate for the *Sun-Times*.

Chaddick became the spokesman for "low-density housing," a catch phrase for large corporate real estate investment instead of neighborhood development. The vehicle was shopping centers.

He headed a group of investors in developing Ford City Shopping Center, Inc., Chicago's largest in-city shopping complex, located on the southwest side. Ford City was sold to Equitable Life Insurance Company in 1972, but Chaddick declined to say what he made on the purchase other than, "I made a lot of money, a lot of people made a lot of money." Chaddick is now developing Ford City West, a seven acre site across the street from his original development.

In 1973 he convinced Mayor Daley to form a special committee to study the development of more in-city shopping centers. Daley named Chaddick as chairman. Several months later, Chaddick proposed the development of five regional shopping centers and 10 smaller, community shopping centers.

Only one of the proposed centers — "Brick Yards" — got off the drawing board. "Green Acres," to be built at the site of the Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium on the northwest side, was stopped when Mayor Daley withdrew his support in the face of strong neighborhood opposition. "Humboldt Square," at Grand and Sacramento, was put on the back burner after the 1976 riot in Humboldt Park. "The merchants have to be confident the neighborhood is stabilized before moving in," said Chaddick. "Harbor Mall," to be located near Lake Calumet on the city's far southside, was killed because of the stench from a nearby landfill.

Things looked a little better for the "Stockyard Mall" at the old Chicago stockyards near Bridgeport. Chaddick obtained an option to purchase the land and announced plans for construction with Mayor Bilandic at a press conference early last year. Three months later, the Bilandic administration suddenly reversed itself and the project failed to pass the zoning committee. Stories circulated that Bridgeport residents were afraid the shopping mall would attract Blacks into their neighborhood.

City officials weren't going to let all of Chaddick's plans go down the drain, not for such a good friend of Democratic campaign chests. Even with strong opposition, the Chicago Planning Commission approved the Brick Yard Mall, on the old Carey brickyards at Diversey and Narragansett and approved E.N. Maisel and Associates of Southfield, Michigan to be the developer. E.N. Maisel and Associates designated Harry F. Chaddick Associates as exclusive leasing agent.

E.N. Maisel showed their gratitude with a donation to Mayor Bilandic's campaign fund of $7,500 in 1979, $5,000 in 1978 and $7,500 in 1977. In 1976, they gave $5,000 to the Cook County Democrats the same day the city council approved a zoning change for the company. Chaddick, who said he was leasing agent "to make sure the leasing was done right," declined to say just how much "right" was, but said simply, "Oh, God! We've made a lot of money."

A GOOD FRIEND TO THE DEMOCRATS

Chaddick has been a regular contributor to the regular Democratic organization for years. In 1972 Chaddick gave free office space to Edward Hanrahan's unsuccessful bid for a second term as Cook County State's Attorney.

In 1976, Daley picked Chaddick to head the committee to study rent control. The committee, which even real estate men said was stacked, concluded rent control would be harmful.

Chaddick is also good friends with "Parky" Cullerton, Cook County's tax assessor for 20 years and a member of Chicago's oldest political family. Chaddick was campaign manager for Cullerton, when he ran for his fourth term as tax assessor, in 1970. Chaddick helped organize the "Real Estate Men for Cullerton," a group that contributed generously to the campaign. A month before the election,

the *Daily News* revealed Cullerton's office was very generous to the real estate men for Cullerton, giving sizable tax reductions on their property. Arthur Rubloff's Sandburg Village, Charles Swibel's Marina Towers and Harry Chaddick's Ford City Shopping Center were among several buildings receiving unusually low tax assessments.

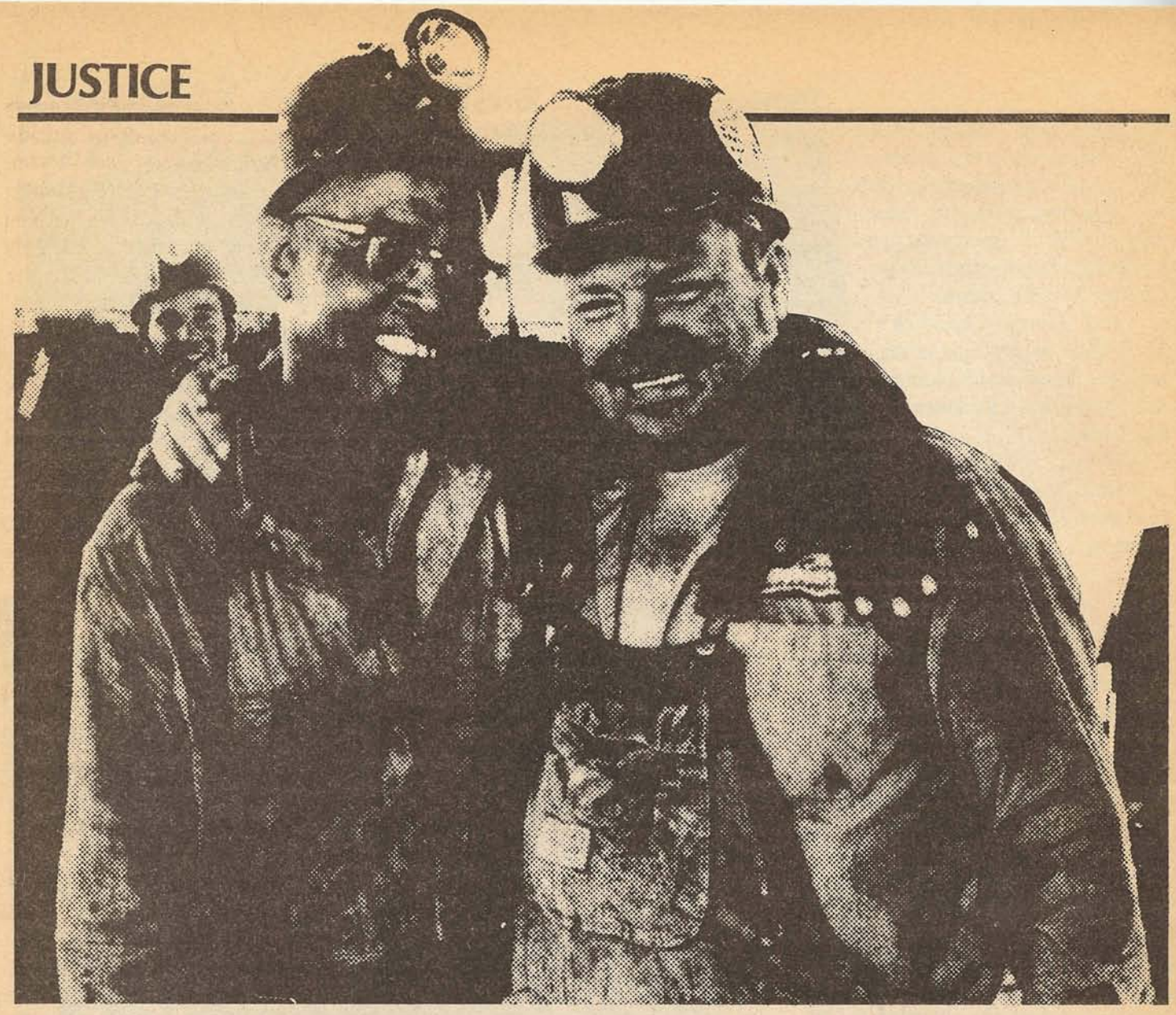
It was this relationship to Cullerton that brought the Palm Springs holdings to light.

Chaddick first went to Palm Springs in 1952. "I've been coming to Palm Springs about 27 years. The late Mayor Ed Kelly had a house down here and Parky Cullerton invited me down to see it. There was only one paved road in town then."

But Palm Springs has changed and costs are enormous. A burrito goes for $5 and homes priced at $1 million are being built all the time. Privacy is the name of the game in the small resort city. Nestled at the foot of the San Jacinto Mountains, a short two hour drive from Los Angeles, Palm Springs attracts a rich mix of Chicago politicians, businessmen and gangsters.

Questions concerning how so many "public servants" from Chicago can afford to invest with Chaddick in Palm Springs have been asked but never answered. It seems that Chaddick may be too gracious a host to bother with such disturbing questions. For while Mayor Jane Byrne was visiting Chaddick so was Erwin "Izzy" Horwitz; Alderman Anthony Laurino; Thomas Foran, City Treasurer; Cecil Partee; Alderman Ed Vrydolyak; U.S. Representative Morgan Murphy and many others. □

The Chaddicks are Palm Springs socialites and hosts to dozens of vacationing Chicago politicians.



Jacksboro

Community Clinic Sabotaged In Rural Tennessee

(Jacksboro, Tennessee) Fifty-five miles from Knoxville is coal country. The struggle to establish a community health care center there goes back to the early 70's. The organizers and leaders of the struggle came mostly from the Tennessee Black Lung Associations. Victims of an occupational hazard, they felt the lack of adequate medical care most seriously. By 1973, the Black Lung Associations had grasped the problem and were moving to get a clinic. In November 1973, in a letter to the Tennessee Department of Public Health, the associations wrote:

"We are writing you in regard to the funding of a clinic for the coal miners in the East Tennessee coal fields. We represent the LaFollette Black Lung Association, an organization consisting of approximately 400 area miners and widows. Our membership is drawn from the major Tennessee coalfields including Campbell, Anderson, Scott, Knox, Union Roane, Morgan, Fentress and Cumberland counties, plus some from the lower end and various places in Kentucky. This is the area where most of Tennessee's retired and active miners reside." The letter went on to state that to the victims of black lung, "a means to ease the symptoms of Black Lung disease is more important than more diagnosis ...many of these men are quite

severely disabled and can't travel often, even if someone else drives them. By the time they would go and return on a trip to a hospital, they might be worse off than when they started. So the association believes that a permanent facility, open to them when they need it, ought to be situated nearby. Jacksboro was selected since it sits in Campbell County, in the middle of the major coalfields and within easy reach of most miners – much closer than Knoxville."

Within a short time, the effort broadened, and the entire community was swept into a fight for a primary health care program in Jacksboro to go along with the black lung treatment center.

Columbus McGhee, veteran miner and one of the original organizers of the movement in Jacksboro describes the stages to KEEP STRONG.

"We had a health fair in the community. We had thirty doctors and nurses come out. The community found them places to stay and fed them and they examined a lot of people free of charge. We did it to prove that there was a need for more doctors. The black lung association set up committees to help set up the clinic. We worked on it for about two years and finally got it started. The state wanted to get the money (a lot of the money came from the Federal Coal Miners Health and Safety Act.) They wanted to put it in one big hospital in Knoxville, but we told them it was too far."

When the clinic finally opened, it was staffed, in part, with doctors from the National Health Service Corps (who had gotten government assistance through medical school and agreed to work in underserved areas for a specific time after they got their degrees.)

Mr. McGhee explains, "We got money for the clinic from a lot of different places. And we got doctors from several places as well. With the doctors from the National Health Service Corps around we didn't have to have a lung specialist at the clinic every day. We sent the lung specialist and the nurses around to some of the other clinics in the area, to give treatment on different days of the week."

The clinic had been opened only a short time, when problems started to develop between professionals on the staff and the people of the community in Jacksboro who had fought so long for the clinic.

Columbus McGhee and his neighbors saw the results of years of hard organizing pulled out from underneath them with a phone call and two letters.

In October of 1978, the community board of the clinic received a two page letter from the doctor assigned to the health care center. The letter was quite open in its criticism and disdain for the miners and others who were trying to ensure the sucess of the clinic.

"We, the medical providers, feel that a situation has developed between the clinic board and the clinic staff which seriously interferes with patient care. . . .First of all we feel that there has been a general lack of support for the clinic staff. . . .Secondly we feel that the board has interfered with the day to day workings of the clinic by becoming involved with things that are not the responsibility of the board, this includes calling staff members at home, meeting with staff members outside of clinic hours and not going to the administrator, *first,* before going to staff members....Thirdly we feel that the Jacksboro community clinic is not properly represented on the board which consists of largely coal miners more interested in the Black Lung Clinic than the Primary Care Center....We propose the following resolutions for the next meeting, the health care providers will rewrite the laws of the clinic...a new board shall be re-organized and include only five members of the old board, five new members will be chosen by the health providers.

"If there are other constructive suggestions we would be glad to entertain them at the meeting. . . .If these changes cannot be implemented. . .we have explored the possibility of moving to the LaFollette medical building and severing ties with the Black Lung Clinic. . . ." signed Bob Firestone, Kay Bultemeier, Peter Haroof and Bob Harmtman.

Within a few months of this letter and with the full support of the national and regional directors, the Health Service Corps doctors had pulled out of the Jacksboro clinic and set up shop in a hospital ten miles away in LaFollete.

Columbus McGhee and the other board members, saw the result of years of hard organizing and struggle pulled out from underneath them by four young middle-class doctors with a letter and two phone calls. They are bitter about the

doctors leaving, but they are more upset about the Health Service Corps doctors' attempts to destroy the clinic in the last six months before they pulled out.

Mr. McGhee, "There was black lung victims on the board, there also was bankers, preachers, lawyers and even the postmaster. We didn't have any trouble with the other doctors, the specialist from Knoxville on the black lung side of the clinic. But the National Health Corps doctors wanted to do as they pleased and the National Health Corps said they would back them up. We trusted Firestone. We made him the administrator of the clinic. And we just trusted him too far and he got out of hand. He spent at least $18,000 out of our building fund in the last six months he was here. The other board members called me and said if we didn't do something they (the Health Corps doctors) were going to destroy the clinic. Then we got a letter from Firestone saying that either they was going to say who was on the board or they were moving. Now, we never refused anybody who wanted to be on the board, that we thought was interested in helping us. We never did turn anybody away. But he said he was going to fix the board or leave."

The clinic board had saved $41,000 to replace the old building (pictured above). Firestone is accused of squandering $18,000 of it.

For the Jacksboro clinic the withdrawal of the National Health Corps doctors meant not only the end of the primary care unit but severe limitations on the Black Lung Clinic, because the backup was lost. Mr. McGhee pointed out that during the course of the fight Dr. Firestone had publicly chastised the members of the board in the local press, for not being "educated enough to handle the responsibility of running the clinic."

Board members have charged that Firestone may have intentionally tried to destroy the clinic financially in his last few months. "They weren't sending any bills out for the last three or four months and they kept coming to us asking us to take money out of the building fund in order to meet the monthly payroll and operating expenses."

The national director of the Health Service Corps in Washington, D.C. refused to comment to KEEP STRONG on the abrupt withdrawal of the doctors from the Jacksboro clinic or the financial dealings that his subordinates were involved in. Meanwhile, life goes on in Jacksboro. The once busy clinic is now open one day a week for respiratory treatment. But the fight is not over for Columbus McGhee and his friends and neighbors. They are looking for other sources of funding and doctors. They're used to fighting.

Pentagon Announces Global Strike Force

(Washington, D.C.) At his departing press conference in late June the U.S. Army's departing Chief of Staff, General Bernard Rogers, announced plans by the Pentagon to re-organize existing troops into a 110,000 man contingency force for intervention in the Middle East and other developing countries.

Described as a "quick reaction strike force" the corps could be called up to intervene in what the Pentagon describes as "half-wars" or trouble areas which might "precede a major war in Western Europe." The retiring general made it clear that the troops involved would be exisiting light airborne divisions of the army, marines and air force. Some of the troops mentioned as possible units for the strike force include the 82nd Airborne at Ft. Bragg, North Carolina, the 1st Marine Division, Camp Pendelton and the 3rd Marine Division, Okinawa.

The concept of the "go anywhere" strike force goes back to the early 1970's when the Defense Department talked frequently in terms of a "third world intervention

force." Secretary of Defense Brown first made reference to the concept of a Unilateral Corps in 1977. Although Pentagon officials maintain the strike force is still in the planning stages, the Defense Department appears to have a fairly well-calculated scenario for how existing troops might be deployed.

While Washington officials deny that the strike force is targeted at the Persian Gulf and the Middle East, a lengthy article appearing in *Fortune* (May, 1979) discloses that military strategists have predicted four possible situations which could erupt into war in the Middle East and how the strike force would work. The article details, for example, that planning exercises have already been developed at Ft. Bragg, North Carolina, showing that the unit could rapidly transport 200 troops to Turkey in 35 hours, 1,200 men in 48 hours and the entire division in 264 hours.

A spokesman for the U.S. Department of Defense in Washington, Major Michael Burch, told KEEP STRONG that it is true that the United States lost a "good friend in Iran" and that the Middle East and Persian Gulf were potential trouble spots, but not the only

Light infantry divisions, with little firepower, need to be justified according to the Center for Defense Information and the strike force idea is a way to do just that.

rica. . .the states outside the Middle East. . .like Zaire." Burch admitted that some countries friendly to the U.S. including Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Egypt had expressed some concern over articles in the American press which implied that the Unilateral Corps was targeted for the Middle East and Persia. These nations fear that U.S. intervention might lead to Soviet Union interference with the free flow of oil.

Another point of view about the proposed strike force is expressed

The concept of the "go anywhere" strike force goes back to the early 1970's when the Pentagon was talking about a "third world intervention force."

wall," he said, "I see several areas of concern. The Korean situation has not been settled since the 1950's. In Latin America there is the risk of increased Soviet influence. And then there is Af-

by the Center for Defense Information, an independent research group in Washington, D.C. which monitors defense-related activities. According to Bill Flannery, staff analyst, the move in this direction seems to be "bureaucratic." There has to be some justification for the army to maintain these troops which are light infantry divisions with little firepower. Flannery points out that these units are not militarily powerful and could easily and quickly be transported anywhere in the world. Furthermore, he pointed out that the U.S. Defense Department is facing its biggest budget battle since the 1940's to defend an allocation of $135 billion.

Major Burch said that each service would be required to submit their plans to the President for review and that no additional money or troops were being committed at this time. Nevertheless, some planning is well along. According to Major Burch, the *Fortune* article was based on information provided directly by the Defense Department. While officially the Unilateral Corps may still be a concept without a formal written draft, General Rogers was emphatic when asked if the corps is a concept or a concrete decision. "The army intends to do this," he said. □

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JUSTICE

Pro-Choice Activists Slam 'Right to Life' Convention as "No Choice At All"

(Cincinnati, Ohio) More than 1,000 people met on the banks of the Ohio River here in late June to demonstrate support for reproductive freedom and a woman's right to self-determination.

Across the river, in Kentucky, the National Right to Life Committee, the country's largest anti-abortion group, was planning their political strategy for the 1980 elections.

Ohio is regarded as "friendly" territory by the Right to Life movement. Recent years have marked a sharp increase in the number of attacks--bombings, burnings, vandalizings--directed at abortion and family planning clinics in Cincinnati and Ohio.

Citing recent public opinion polls, which show 80 percent support for federal funding of abortions, the reproductive rights organizers point to a long history of struggle for a basic freedom.

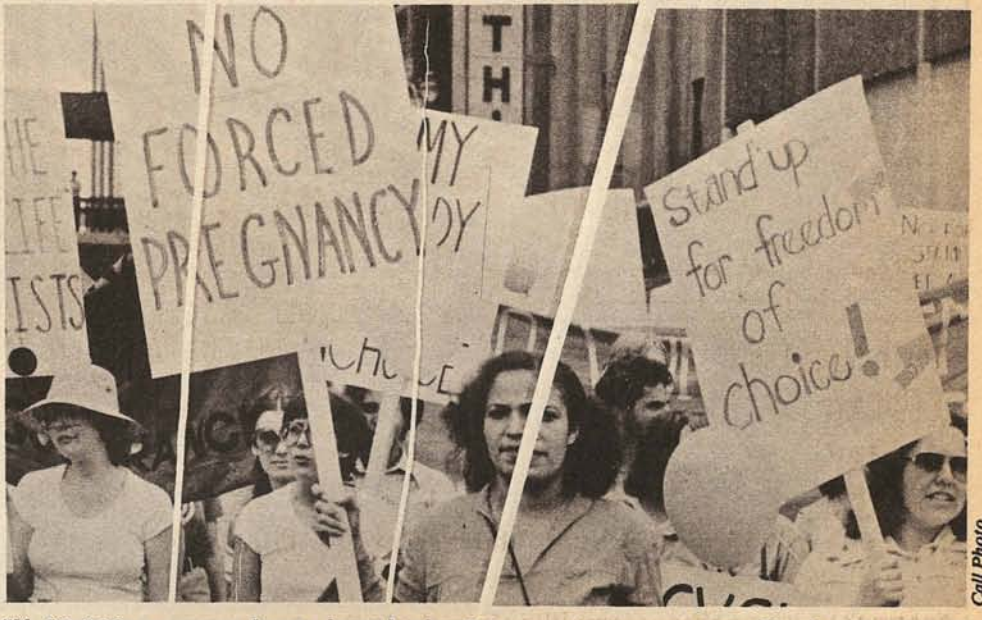
"Grassroots organizing of women around reproductive and women's rights has historically seen itself as part of the larger struggle of people fighting for control over their own lives and communities. In the 1840's and '50's, women who were the backbone of a popular health movement that stressed preventive health measures began a call for voluntary motherhood. At that time, childbirth, birth control and abortion were under the control of women as healers and midwives. Over the years, women have lost that control to doctors and institutions."

But the pro-choice activists rest their argument on modern statistics. A national survey of social services to children in 1977 identified 63,240 White children and 28,560 Black children available for adoption. Information from the World Health Organization of the United Nations indicates that the death rate of women from illegal abortions is one in a hundred, while the normal mortality rate from legal abortions is 3.3 in 100,000. "If 30,000 women have legal abortions, one woman will die. If 30,000 women have illegal abortions, 300 women will die."

The United Nations defines the objectives of reproductive freedom as "clearly the enrichment of human life, not its restriction...an essential element of the right of women as individuals to self-determination." "Reproductive freedom means that women have control in a real and practical way whether and when to have children," a Chicago activist told KEEP STRONG.

The day began early for pro-choice activists. Just after midnight, the Cincinnati Abortion Rights Coalition received a call saying 50 people from the Right to Life Convention were planning to come across the river in the morning to "take over" the Margaret Sanger Abortion Clinic. Sources inside of the Right to Life Convention had reported a vocal group calling itself "Leftists for Life" and pushing for direct action by invading and taking over abortion clinics. The Cincinnati group contacted their supporters through the night.

When the anti-abortionists showed up at 8 a.m., 25 women had formed a human wall to defend the clinic. The Cincinnati women encircled the invaders convincing



Call Photo

"If 30,000 women have legal abortions, one woman will die. If 30,000 women have illegal abortions 300 will die."

th em to go back across the river. Af ter an hour the women left wit hout getting near the door of the clini c.

An aftern oon rally drew 1,000 people to h ear several prominent activist s for Reproductive Rights.

Ellen Fran kfort, co-author of *Rosie Jin enez: Investigation of a Tragic De ath* spoke of the tragic human side of cutoffs of medicaid funding for ab ortion. Rosie Jimenez was a C hic ana mother on welfare, beginni ng her last semester of teachers colle ge. She died of an illegal abortion in 1977 which she sought rather than spend her college scholarship money for a safe, legal, but more e xpensive abortion. Ms. Frankfort c losed by quoting Jimmy Carter wh en he announced his support for n edicaid cutoffs, in July, 1977: "Well," he said, "there are many things in life that are unfair, that wealthy people can afford and poor people can't."

Margare t Willis, Chairperson of the Ohio Welfare Rights Organization explai ned that medicaid has been cut off for abortion but tubal ligation is fu nded 100 percent. "Our so-called ch oices are no choices at all." She cite d the increased numbers of steri lizations among poor and minority women. In Puerto Rico, 35 percent of all women aged 15 to 44 are steril lized, the highest rate in the world. A mong Black, unmarried women in the United States 30.4 percent are sterilized.

Ideally, gettin g a tubal ligation is a decision a wo man makes herself, when she unde rstands its permanence and the ris ks involved. However, often women are "talked into" having a tubal ligation during their childbirth contractions. Or they are threatened. Recently in Georgia, a judge threatened a Black woman that if she became pregnant again he would put her in jail! Ms. Willis, in closing, reminded the rally that the fight for reproductive freedom must also include the fight for good nutrition, housing, education and child care.

In Puerto Rico 35 percent of all women ages 15-44 have been sterilized.

Rhonda Copeland, a lawyer from the Center for Constitutional

Call Photo

One thousand peo ple he ard speakers out line the merger between far right wing p olitic s and the "Right to Life" movement.

Rights, spoke chillingly of the political and social implications of the anti-abortion movement. "'Right to Life' lawyers represent fetuses in court and argue that rape and incest are not traumatic to women. Nor is bearing an unwanted child traumatic. The anti-abortionists will not just force poor women into sterilization and back alleys. They are calling for a constitutional convention to pass an amendment to protect the rights of the fetus. They want to declare women seeking abortions and doctors performing abortions as murderers. Some of the 'Right to Lifers' have gone on to suggest that women suspected of wanting an abortion be arrested. 'Women will be suspected for having wombs.'" She also pointed out that the anti-abortion movement is contradictory to the first amendment rights insuring religious freedom. Whether the abortion is right or wrong should be a personal, religious decision, not a legal legal, political issue.

THE HYDE AMENDMENT

Sponsored by Congressman Henry Hyde, a Republican from Illinois, the law was passed as an amendment to a larger funding bill for the Departments of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare.

The law denies medicaid (federal funds) funding for abortions except in three cases:

- **Where the mother's life is endangered;**
- **Where she would suffer "severe and long lasting health damage" if she gave birth, as determined by two physicians;**
- **Where pregnancy is due to rape or incest, and the incident has been reported to a law enforcement agency.**

The overall effect of the Hyde Amendment is to encourage states to restrict public funding for abortion and stop abortions in public health facilities.

Those who suffer most from the restrictions are low-income and minority women who are the most dependent on medicaid funds for health care.

The Hyde Amendment has, in effect, turned legal abortion into a privilege for those who are wealthy enough to pay.

Source: *Women Under Attack*

After the rally, a car caravan of about 100 people went across the Ohio River to confront the anti-abortionists. Huge posters of mangled and deformed fetuses were seen attached to the conventioneers' cars in the motel parking lot where the convention was being held. The pro-choice people formed a picket line in front of the motel as 'Right to Lifers' were entering for the evening activities. Hundreds of coat hangers were deposited in front of the motel as mementos for the anti-abortionists. Coat hangers are symbolic of what methods women must resort to when abortion is illegal. The pro-choice women and men told the anti-abortion conventioneers, "Get your laws off our bodies!"

Reproductive freedom means that women control whether and when to have children.

Across the river the tone was different. The theme of the convention was the family, but the focus was on the upcoming elections.

Of late, the Right to Life Committee has turned away from closing down clinics and to the use of the ballot box to get their point across.

Under the leadership of ultra-conservative politicians like Orin Hatch of Utah, and Jesse Holmes from North Carolina, the Committee has formed the Life Amendment Political Action Committee, Inc. (LAPAC). The director of LAPAC, Ron Brown, boasts that the organization can deliver "from six to eight percent of the vote, voting on that issue alone. With a good effort, we can deliver 12 percent."

The entry into electoral politics allows the anti-abortion movement to link itself with a larger coalition of "hot button" conservative causes. These include the anti-union, anti-civil rights, anti-Panama Canal, pro-South Africa and Rhodesia treaty movements that make up a giant national network funded by people like Adolph Coors (of Coors Beer strike fame). The network functions to concentrate all its energy to defeat progressive candidates or candidates who have taken progressive positions in favor of unions, welfare, education, equal rights, foreign policy or women's rights.

Most observers agree that the Kentucky convention was little more than a show to kick off the 1980 campaign to defeat 12 senators and representatives who have voted in support of abortion rights.□

Nicaragua — Behind the Headlines

The Central American nation of Nicaragua has been the object of profiteering and political control by interests from other countries for several hundred years — first Spain, then Britain, then the U.S. During the last 100 years, whenever Nicaraguans have tried to change their lot, the U.S. has intervened to arrange (by military force and political intrigue) a settlement favorable to U.S. control of Nicaragua's economy and political life. Summer 1979 sees these U.S. efforts repeated once again.

KEEP STRONG takes its readers behind the headlines this month to briefly examine the conditions of life, the history of the current struggle and U.S. involvement, and how it is that the tyrannical President of a desperately poor country now moving to seize control of its own destiny came to submit his resignation to the United States government.

"I'll give this country peace, if I have to shoot every other man in Nicaragua to get it."

Anastasio Somoza Garcia, 1933

Following his father's footsteps, General Anastasio Somoza Debayle — the third member of his family to rule Nicaragua — has in the last year unleashed on the civilian population of his own country one of the most brutal military assaults in the history of the Americas. Yet countless bombings (including the use of napalm), mass executions, burnings of poor neighborhoods, torture and terror have not succeeeded. The forces of resistance to the Somozas are winning. For such large numbers of people to endure this attack and to continue to fight; for so many of them to fight only with pistols, hunting weapons or stones — they must be motivated by both desperate conditions and real hope for a better future.

Susan Meiselas/NACLA

The 18 year struggle of the Sandanista Rebels (FSLN) was victorious in mid-July when President Somoza was forced to flee the country and his government collapsed.

"There are no poor Nicaraguans."
Anastasio Somoza Debayle, 1970's

Nicaragua is a small country about the size of Michigan. Sixty percent of Nicaragua's 2.3 million people live in dire poverty. Although agriculture is the most important part of the economy, malnutrition is everywhere. Nearly half of the registered deaths are those of children under the age of 5 years. Most of these deaths are from malnutrition, tuberculosis, gastroenteritis and other diseases related to terrible conditions of life. Life expectancy is 49.9 years (22 years less than in the U.S.).

About half the country's population is under 15 years old. Adult unemployment is over 50 percent. The average yearly wage in the countryside is less than $15 (U.S.); half the rural workers earn less than $39 (U.S.) per year. Nicaragua's spending rate on health and education is the lowest in Central America but the highest for military purposes. Even before the 1972 earthquake there (which left 250,000 people homeless), 73.7 percent of the housing was inadequate. Only a bit over 16 percent of the people had drinkable water; 8 percent had sewage service; 9 percent had inside plumbing.

Over 70 percent of the people cannot read or write — in the countryside over 86 percent. In 1969, Nicaragua had nearly 23,000 servants but only 10,000 school teachers.

On the other hand, Somoza's family fortune was estimated in 1975 to be $500 million *in Nicaragua alone*. Since most of it is safely invested outside the country, there is no way to calculate the true extent of the Somoza's wealth. (See box for more information on Somoza family holdings.)

The Somoza family's chance to rape their country came when the U.S. put them in office in 1933. They've been kept there by the U.S. military, economic and political power for over 45 years. The story of U.S. intervention in Nicaragua goes back even further though.

"It has been Nicaragua's fate... to be desired by many nations."
from "Dollars for Bullets" by Harold Denny, 1928

From the time of early Spanish colonial rule, Nicaragua was looked upon as a place to cut a canal between the Atlantic and Pacific

THE SOMOZA EMPIRE

Susan Meiselas/NACLA

Anastasio Somoza

• Included nearly one-sixth of the territory of Nicaragua and 25-30 percent of the usable land and major interests in the country's 26 largest companies including handling tobacco, sugar, coffee, rice, dairy, meat packing, salt, fishing, refineries and distilleries. They control major portions of manufacturing in cooking oils, cement productions, construction materials, textiles and packaging.

• They distributed motor vehicles and ran newspapers, radio stations and the country's only TV station. They had percentages in airlines, shipping, and the ports inside Nicaragua, as well as savings and loans companies and construction and industrial financing.

• In the United States they have large investments in U.S. Steel, Pan American Airlines, Intercontinental Hotels and real estate in Florida and California. They also owned a Miami-based publishing company.

• To protect this empire, the Somozas have used a variety of tools. These included: lavish borrowing from the Nicaraguan National Bank, the use of the country's National Guard to suppress dissenters, the black market, public funds, the labor of public employees and a piece of every dollar of foreign aid and trade that crossed the borders into Nicaragua.

oceans. In turn, England, France and the U.S eyed control of such a canal in Nicaragua. In 1890, the U.S. ambassador to Nicaragua summed up U.S. policy: "The canal will secure the *domination of the United States over the American Continent,* politically as well as commercially. . . .*The nation that ...controls Lake Nicaragua will then control the destiny of the Western Hemisphere."* Although the canal was finally built in Panama, the U.S. has kept its interest and control over Nicaragua ever since. (See box for summary of U.S. intervention in Nicaragua before they put Somoza in.)

SHORT SUMMARY OF U.S. INTERVENTION IN NICARAGUA BEFORE SOMOZA

1850's U.S. economic interests intervene, led by robber baron Cornelius Vanderbuilt;

1867 U.S. treaty with Nicaragua gives U.S. exclusive rights of transportation across the country including U.S. troops;

early 1900's U.S. economic interests grow — control main exports: coffee, gold, lumber and bananas;

1909-10 U.S. intervenes to topple government; results in agreement making Nicaragua financial and political captive of U.S. : New York banking interests (led by Brown Brothers & Seligman) dominate Nicaragua's economy;

1912 Civil War, started by U.S. in 1909, continues; U.S. Marines land in Nicaragua; remain until 1926;

1913-24 At least 10 armed uprisings (including large numbers of peasants forced off the land);

1926 U.S. imposes new government; withdraws troops; sends Marines again to protect their new government;

1927-33 All of the opposition leaders except one, AUGUSTO CESAR SANDINO, lay down their arms; Marines use bombing raids against civilians; Sandino's Army to Defend Nicaraguan National Sovereignty fights U.S intervention, to restore a constitutional government and for land reform;

1933 U.S. places ANASTASIO SOMOZA GARCIA as head of the National Guard, withdraws Marines;

1934 SOMOZA murders SANDINO during a "peace meeting". . . .so begins the modern conflict between the rule of the Somoza dynasty and the "Sandanistas."

The longest occupation of Nicaragua by U.S. Marines was 1912-26. The U.S. then pulled out their troops. But the civil war they started continued. Within months the Marines were back. During the next eight years of occupation the U.S. created a special army (the National Guard), whose purpose was to protect U.S. interests and exterminate popular resistance. In 1933, the Marines were pulled out and Anastasio Somoza Garcia was placed by the U.S. as head of the Guard which continued until their ouster as the power base of the family's rule. Since its creation the Guard received not only arms but extensive and advanced training from the U.S.

"Somoza's an S.O.B., but he's our S.O.B."

U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1939

The Somozas' brutal rule had been no secret to the U.S. government. He was propped up by the U.S. in every administration since the 1930's. In brief, the Somoza regime served the following purposes for the U.S. :

1. There were few barriers in Nicaragua to profitable U.S. investment (except that pay-offs were required);

2. The Somozas had greatly helped the U.S. to prop up other strong arm governments in Central America recently, especially El Salvador and Guatemala which face serious internal resistance;

3. Nicaragua had been used in recent years as a base by the U.S. for large scale intervention in Guatemala, the Dominican Republic and for the invasion of Cuba.

SUMMARY OF THE PROGRAM OF THE FSLN (SANDANISTAS) 1978

1. To retake the properties of the Somozas to be used for the whole country.
2. To make an agricultural revolution (no more huge plantations, no more land not cultivated, the land will be for those who produce on it).
3. The people will have to change the conditions in the countryside.
4. The conditions in the mines will be changed.
5. Teachers will have new rights.
6. Those employed in business and trade will have new rights.
7. Unions for all workers will be allowed.
8. The cost of living will not continue to rise at such a rate.
9. Transportation will be dignified and efficient.
10. Water and electricity will be available to all.
11. Decent housing will be a right of all people.
13. Education will be available for all people.
14. The Atlantic Coast Zone will receive special help and its development will be undertaken.
15. Our country's natural resources will be protected and used for the benefit of the Nicaraguan people.
16. The banks will be used to aid the development of the country as a whole.
17. Organized crime will be eliminated.
18. Juvenile delinquincy will be combated.
19. Torture and political assassination will be ended.
20. Democratic rights of free political association and speech will be guaranteed.
21. We will fight to end discrimination against women.
22. Nicaragua will have relations with all countries of the world on an equal basis.

Who are the "Sandanistas"?

Taking their name from the General who would not stop fighting the U.S. Marines and who was murdered in cold blood by the first Somoza, the "Sandanistas" (the FSLN) of today have been organized since 1961. There are three main tendencies or groupings within these fighting forces; their unity has increased greatly as their struggle has advanced. Their membership comes from all sections of the population and they have strong support in rural and urban areas. A very broad based popular movement made up of 20 or 30 organizations in addition to the Sandanista fighting forces is called the United People's Movement (MPU). They have done much of the organizing of rural and city areas including the distribution of food, tending the wounded, etc., as Somoza's attacks on civilians became more vicious.

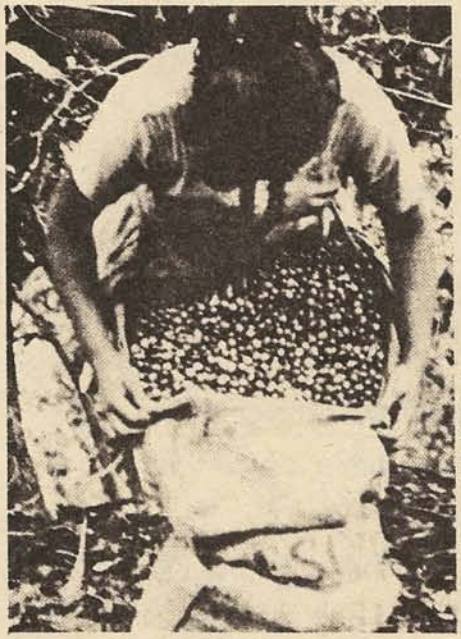
The resistance forces named a five person council as the new provisional government with an 18-person cabinet. They represent a broad cross section of the country from business interests to the fighting forces. The people of Nicaragua are well aware of the U.S.' recent maneuvers and also that it was U.S. supplied arms that Somoza used against them (Israel and Argentina also supplied arms). U.S. warships were stationed nearby; U.S. troops and planes were expelled from Costa Rica near the Nicaraguan border, while U.S. trained troops from other Central American dictatorships fought alongside Somoza. The country seemed joyous as the new government took over, but it is suffering from tremendous destruction and is in desperate need of humanitarian aid. The question now is will the U.S. continue to try to blackmail the new government.

The Carter administration has helped to aid the West Point-trained Somoza. In July, 1977, Carter sent a letter to Somoza praising him for the improved "human rights" situation in his country!

U.S. Wants "Somocismo Without Somoza"

Realizing that Somoza has been defeated militarily, the U.S. has been desperately trying to install a regime that will continue to serve its interests without Somoza at the head. As late as May of this year, the Carter administration allowed the International Monetary Fund to loan the already nearly bankrupted Somoza regime $66 million. The conditions of the loan that were required included a 40% devaluation of Nicaraguan money in April, which sent prices climbing yet higher and increased unemployment to over 50%. Finally, in June the U.S. tried to get other Latin American countries to approve sending troops (including U.S. forces) to insure a "favorable" settlement. This was rejected.

That's why the State Department said in June that it was "carrying around Somoza's resignation in our pocket," waiting until it could try to control the outcome of the war. In July, U.S. diplomats were shuttling back and forth throughout Central America; the U.S. proposed that more "moderate" people be added to the 5-person provisional government which has been established by the "Sandinistas." One of these men was the finance secretary of Somoza's own political party and the other was a National Guard general who commanded Nicaraguan troops in the U.S.-inspired intervention in the Dominican Republic in 1965! Obviously, the Sandanistas who have fought for nearly twenty years to oust Somoza and dismantle the National Guard did not accept this offer. □



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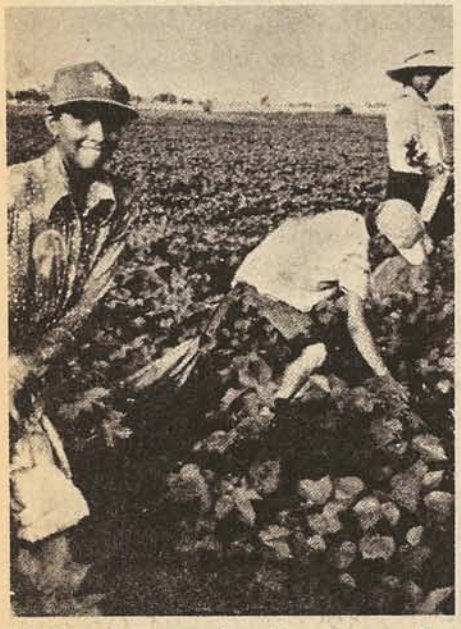

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A. The Somoza family amassed a fortune close to $1 billion, but the average yearly wage of workers in the countryside was less than $15.

(Top) The Somoza empire included large interests in coffee and tobacco, and used public employees for cheap labor. (Lower) The Sandanistas were joined in a broad based popular movement of 30 patriotic organizations.

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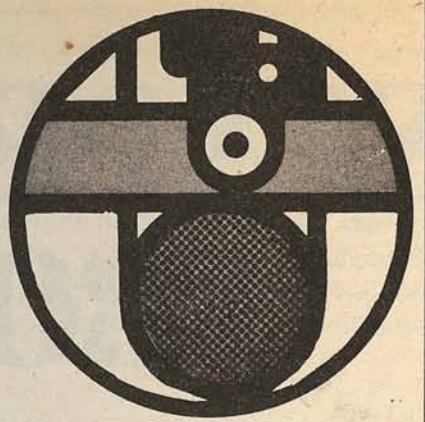

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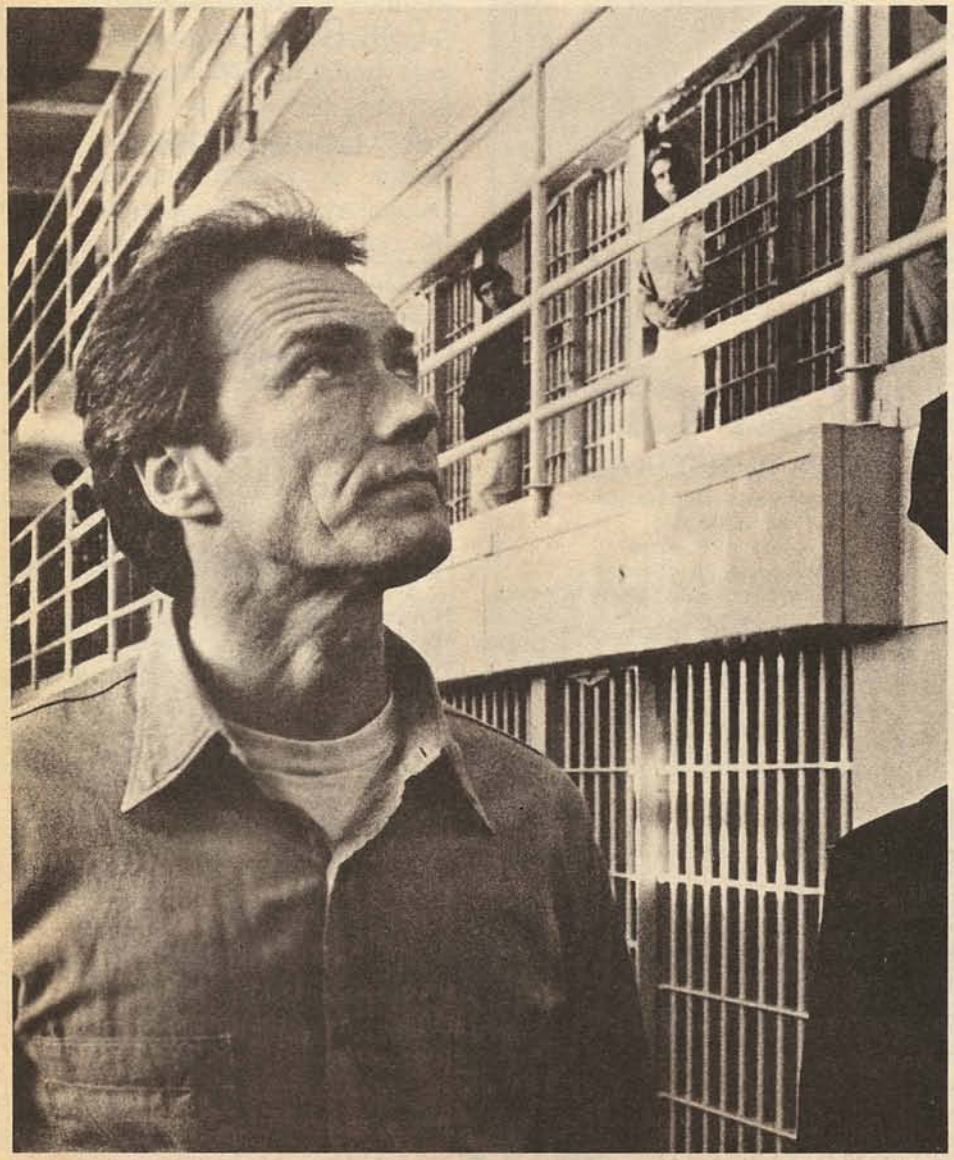
ESCAPE FROM ALCATRAZ

Eastwood Film Exposes Waste and Cruelty of 'Maximum Security'



Clint Eastwood plays Frank Morris, who actually escaped from Alcatraz with 2 other men in 1962.

Escape From Alcatraz is a movie about why "super maximum security" prisons don't work. Based on a true story, the Clint Eastwood movie traces the history of Frank Morris, an inmate at Alcatraz in 1960 who, along with two friends, escape from the prison in 1962. Since the whole purpose of Alcatraz was to prevent escapes the prison was closed less than a year later.

The movie follows a simple script based on the book by J. Campbell Bruce. Clint Eastwood plays Morris and is supported by a variety of characters who qualify for all the stereotypes Hollywood expects to find in maximum security prison. There is Litmus, a happy-go-lucky old Italian who is more concerned about his pet mouse than anything else; Doc, a sort of Bird Man of Alcatraz who lives for his painting and has become quite good at it; Wolf, the sadistic big killer who is looking to make Eastwood his "punk"; English, the wise Black inmate who teaches Eastwood about prison, but cannot escape since he once slit his ankle in protest

to prison conditions; and the warden, who is accurately portrayed as more sadistic than anyone else and represents the people in power.

The actual planning of the escape is very interesting especially since it is true. The plan itself is extremely detailed. Using homemade tools, which they make from stealing materials while at work or at lunch, and taking advantage of the salty sea air which has corroded the concrete, the trio manage to dig their way through the ventilation grills in their cells and get on to the prison roof. Dummy heads are made from paper mache, painted and then hair from the prison barber shop is glued on to add the final life-like appearance. Raincoats stiffened with cement act both as a life raft and life preservers.

The actual escape is made at the last moment because the warden has just decided to transfer Eastwood to another cell. Since the bodies are never found we are left wondering if they ever made it to shore.

The real history of Alcatraz is very interesting. Alcatraz became a federal prison on August 18, 1934. It was the government's answer to escaping and "unruly" convicts. Alcatraz Island is a short distance from San Francisco and had served as a lighthouse, fort and civil war prison. Chosen for its isolation, the cold shark infested waters surrounding it and the hard surface of the island, the prison was quickly nicknamed the "rock" by its inmates. It was supposed to hold the big time gangsters but in reality only Al Capone did time there and the majority of inmates were poor people convicted of crimes of survival.

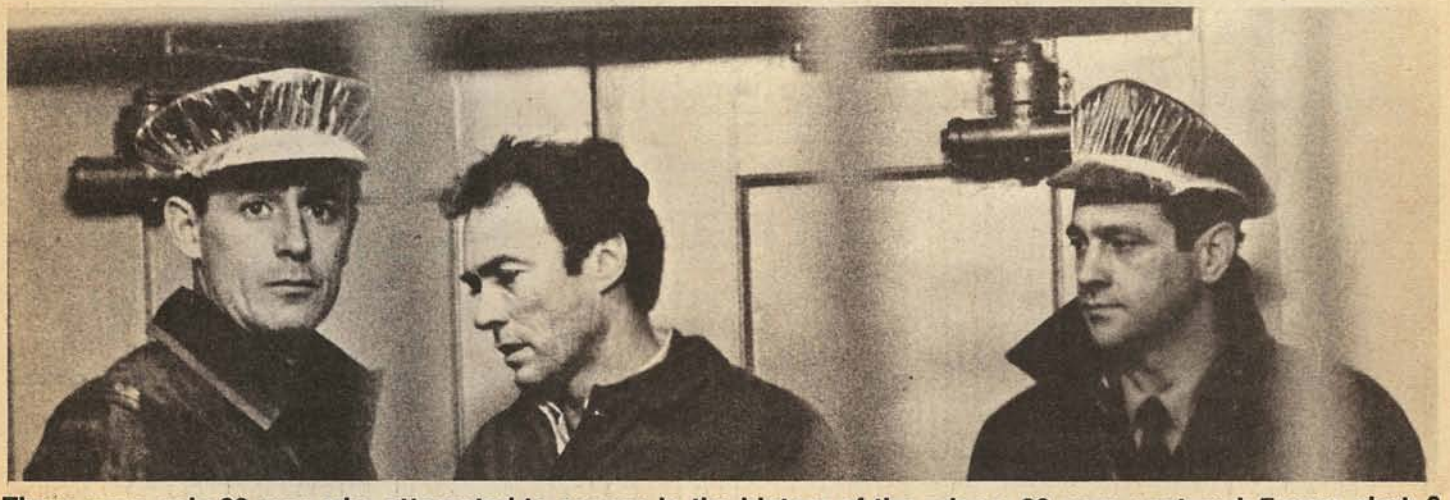
Alcatraz was not conceived with rehabilitation in mind. In fact, in the first few years of its existence inmates were prohibited from speaking unless they were asked a question by a guard or prison official. While most prisons had a guard – inmate ratio of 1 to 10, Alcatraz had a 1 to 3 ratio. Add this to the hourly head counts, consistent shakedowns and complete iron and concrete construction of the prison, it is easy to see why authorities had claimed it to be escape proof.

But by the early 1960's the negative aspects of "The Rock" were beginning to outweigh the positives. It wasn't holding the big time gangsters because they had long ago bought the politicians and judges, and rarely went to jail or if they did, served time in reconverted country clubs. People were beginning to question the inhuman conditions at the prison and most importantly, it was costing the government $90 a day per inmate. But since it was escape proof the government kept it open.

ESCAPE FROM ALCATRAZ
Executive Producer – Robert Daley
Associate Producer – Fritz Manes
Screenplay – Richard Tuggle
Produced and directed by Don Siegel
Starring – Clint Eastwood
A Paramount Picture

Up until Morris' escape the prison did indeed seem escape proof. There were only 39 men who attempted to escape in the prison's 29 year history. Of these 26 were captured, 7 were shot and 3 drowned. The remaining 3 are the basis of the movie. When Morris and his two friends escaped and were not captured, Attorney General Robert Kennedy ordered a study of how much money it would take to reinforce the prison. When a figure of $4.5 million came back, Kennedy decided to scrap the prison and make it a tourist attraction.

Escape From Alcatraz should be seen. The folly and millions of dollars wasted then and now on so-called maximum security prisons deserves to be exposed. □



There were only 39 men who attempted to escape in the history of the prison. 26 were captured; 7 were shot; 3 drowned and the remaining 3 are the basis of the movie.

At 5:45 a.m. on March 8, 1975, Wallace Davis took a .357 magnum slug, at point blank range, in the back. As he lay on the ground barely alive, the policeman who shot him, put the smoking revolver between his eyes and whispered, "Die — Nigger — Die". Wallace Davis lived to tell his story and win a quarter million dollar settlement from the Chicago Police Department, four years later.
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